

MEMOIRS OF THE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

No. 38

KUSHANO-SASANIAN COINS

BY
ERNST HERZFELD.



CALCUTTA: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
CENTRAL PUBLICATION BRANCH
1930

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KUSHANO-SASANIAN COINS.

IN chapter III of my Paikuli book I have attempted to utilize, for the reconstruction of the early history of the Sasanian empire, a number of coins that, when first discovered, were called "Scytho-Sasanian," and, when somewhat better known, "Later Great Kushan" coins. They are, as a matter of fact, the coins of the Sasanian prince-governors of Bactria who bore the title *vuzurg Kushân shâh* or *Shâhânsâhâh*, and ought to be called, accordingly, "Sasanian Kushan" coins.

Since then I have continued my studies, and having been presented through the kindness of Colonel MacCormack in Teheran, with a number of these coins that had been brought from Afghanistan, and having seen the specimens in the Kabul Museum and in the Ermitage at Leningrad, I have come to conclusions partly corroborating, partly modifying the results of my first attempt. Therefore, although I feel sure that it will still take a long time to arrange definitely the series of these coins, and although I am unable here in Teheran to avail myself of certain literature that I know exists, *e.g.*, of the more modern articles by A. Markoff, E. Drouin and Rapson, I thought it useful to make known my studies in their present unfinished state, in order to enable other scholars, especially numismatists, to criticize my opinions. Not having at my disposal the necessary literature, I prefer not to quote at all the views of my predecessors, but to confine myself strictly to my own observations and conclusions.

The coins in question fall into two different groups according to their legends. On the one hand, we have those in Sasanian Kushan script, *viz.*, a Greek cursive writing, derived from the Bactrian Greek, and used by the Great Kushan kings, Kanishka, Huvishka and Bazodêv; on the other hand those with legends in Sasanian Pahlavî of the third century A.D., or, as we ought to call it more correctly, in Pârsîk script. Both groups are linked together by some rare coins with bilingual legends: Pârsîk on the obverse, Greek on the reverse. Again, we can divide the coins according to their material into gold, silver and copper. Of the gold there is a large number continuing the type of the Great Kushan coins, or more exactly the posthumous imitations of the Bazodêv coins, but a little bit larger, thinner, and even more strongly cup-shaped than the last Kushan coins. On the other hand, there are some rare gold coins of the pure Sasanian type. Without entering upon that difficult topic, I wish to express here my opinion, in which I know I am in agreement with so great an authority as Mr. Vasmer of the Ermitage Cabinet, that the Sasanian aurei, which are still rare (although during the last three decades a far greater number has turned up than before) and generally considered not to have been in actual currency, are much more closely connected with Bactria than has hitherto been assumed, and that many, if not all of them, represent the gold currency

of the eastern dominions of the Sasanian empire. The extremely rare silver coins—I do not know more than 5—are of Sasanian character but with slight peculiarities that distinguish them from the common Sasanian currency. The proportion between the existing gold, silver and copper issues makes it clear that the curious state of affairs prevailing in Bactria during the independent Kushan period, when there was no silver coinage in existence, still continued under the Sasanian governors, a fact that is probably to be explained on the assumption that in the ratio between gold and silver gold was lower, silver higher in Bactria than in the adjacent countries. All the rest of the coins are copper. They possess a distinctive character, whether their legends are in Greek or in Pârsîk script, and whether they follow exactly the type of the cup-shaped gold issues, as some of them do, or whether they reproduce the common Sasanian type. Hence, these Sasanian Kushan coins present a striking lack of unity, notwithstanding that as was long ago recognised, they belong together.

Before proceeding to examine the various types and specimens, I want to lay great stress upon one other fact, namely, that we must assign the whole of this material, on archæological grounds to the first period of Sasanian art. The distinction of three periods in Sasanian art, the first one extending from its beginning under Ardashîr I. (ab. 225 A.D.) until the time when Shâpûr II came of age (ab. 330 A.D.); the middle one from that time until the second reign of Kawât I. (ab. 500 A.D.); the third one until the end of the Sasanian dynasty (ab. 650 A.D.) is clearly evidenced by the great monuments as well as by the small antiquities such as seals and coins. If we take the cup-shaped aurei, with legends in Greek characters, the obverse invariably shows the full-size figure of the king standing, in full armour the trident in the left, the right hand pointing downward to a small fire-altar, as if throwing incense into the fire; the reverse shows the Indian god Shiva with the bull Nandi. As this type is derived from the older Kushan type, it need not surprise us to find that it is pre-Sasanian. This is true not only of the style, but of concrete details. Thus, the trident and the armour is still distinctively Greek, exactly as some of the Lokapâlas, Nâgarâjas and Vajrapânis of old Buddhist art in Central Asia long retain the same Greek type: a proof that they are descendants of Graeco-Bactrian art. The fire-altar, too, is pre-Sasanian. We find the same altar on the rare Parthian monuments, but nowhere in Sasanian art. Moreover, the way in which the muscles of the body are delineated beneath the garments in the old Greek manner, disappears completely from Sasanian art by the middle of the 4th century. Even the heads on the obverse of the smallest and least artistic copper coins show distinctively the style of the great sculptures of the 3rd century, some of them recalling the finest of the existing Sasanian sculptures, namely, the head of Varhrân I on his bas-relief at Shâpûr, near Kazerun in Fârs. Other devices of the copper coins, *e.g.*, the god enthroned, half profile, still more the god on the throne under a dais, or the king standing in adoration before a seated god, are inconceivable in the

middle Sasanian period. Indeed, the second example reproduces almost exactly the famous sculpture of Shâpûr I. on the throne in the gorge of Shâpûr. Even the rude fire-altar on the reverse of most of these copper coins shows the type of altar of the coins of Ardashîr I., imitated, it is true, in the later issues of Shâpûr II., but nowhere else, and does not follow the type introduced by Shâpûr I. and copied throughout the first Sasanian period, out of which the type of the second period has been developed.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that all the Sasanian Kushan coins known to us, must be assigned to the period between the accession of Ardashîr I. (ab. 225 A.D.) and the time of Shâpûr II.'s coming of age (ab. 330 A.D.). Certainly we cannot date any coin of our group later than 356 A.D.; for we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus that Shâpûr II. was kept in the far East of his empire in the winters of 356 and 358, regions that had been occupied not long before that date by the Chionites, and, as we shall see, these Chionites issued a coinage of their own, imitating the coins of Shâpûr II. but with legends in Greek Kushan script.

The deciphering of the coin legends is much hampered by the circumstance that some of them are unique, that of others we have but a few specimens, and that all of them, like most copper coins, are in a very bad condition. The few silver coins are in good, and the gold coins with few exceptions in excellent preservation. Still, the Greek legends on them have not yet been deciphered. Alexander Cunningham was the first to attempt it: he succeeded in recognizing, on the cup-shaped gold coins, the names which he spelled "*Hormazd*" and "*Vararan*", and attributed them to Hormuzd II. and Varhrân V. He only failed to reach the real reading because he kept too closely to the arrangement of the legends on the preceding coins, the imitations of Bazodêv, *viz.*:

šaonano šao bazodêo košano

This is evident from his plate of legends in the *Num. Chron.* ser. III, vol. XIII, pl. XIV (pl. V of Scytho-Sasanians). Indeed, the legends like all the types of the coins, are derived from the latest coins of the independent Kushan kings, but the arrangement of the legend differs. It was this discovery that enabled me to decipher them, and as the point is obviously an important one, I will enlarge upon it further.

The arrangement of the legends is closely connected with the direction of the heads on the coins. On the Sasanian coins, for example, the head looks, without exception, to the right; on the Arsacidan coins, to the left. The Sasanian coinage, in this respect, resumes the style of the old Frâtadâra of Persepolis and the first four Shâhs of Fârs. The Frâtadâra type is of Achæmenian, pre-Arsacidan origin. The coins of the first three Shâhs, two with an eagle and one with the crescent on the head-dress, correspond in style to the "early Arsacidan coinage", those of the fourth, Vâtfradât II., who wears a narrow diadem with a crescent only, to the style of the following Arsacidan coinage anterior to the so-called Mithradates II. From that time

onwards, the heads are invariably turned to the left. The change of title, from *Frātadāra* to *Shāh*, as well as the change in the direction of the heads, must denote certain events in the history of the country, the former most probably the subduing of Fārs by the Arsacids, the latter another change in the political relations of the province to the central power. Now, the whole coinage of Elymais-Khuzistan shows the heads turned to the left like that of the Shāhs of Fārs, and it might be concluded from this that the relation of Khūzistān to the central power was of the same kind as that of Fārs. The coins of the Parthian dynasty of Sakastān, *viz.*, of Gondofares, Orthaghes, Sānabares, Abdagases and Pacores, probably members of the Sūrēn Pahlav, a family of the Parthian high aristocracy, show in the same way the heads turned to the left, with the exception of some rare coins of Gondofares and Abdagases, an exception that may perhaps be explained by the fact that their title is even more pretentious than that of the Arsacid emperors at that time. On the other hand, the coins of Armenia have the heads turned in the opposite direction, to the right. I am not acquainted with the Atropatenian coinage, but that of Characene, Méshān, follows the Armenian prototype, both having been countries with a greater measure of independence than Fārs, Khūzistān, and in my view Sakastān also. Lastly, Ardashīr I. on his first coins, that is, at the time when he was rebelling against Hartabān V., made the head *de face*, and from the moment when he became free from the Arsacidan rule, he assumed the old Frātadāra type with the head to the right.

Passing by these facts, that have not yet been emphasized sufficiently, I cannot but conclude that the direction of the heads has a definite meaning. The direction to the left was the Arsacid one, and all the feudal princes who had the royal privilege of coining and whose lands formed an integral part of that curiously diffuse empire, had to adopt the Arsacid style. The opposite direction of the heads proves a greater degree of independence, and hence is adopted by the Sasanids immediately after they had thrown off the Arsacidan yoke. That it was done intentionally, is further corroborated by the observation that all the Sasanian seals adopt the same direction; *viz.*, the seals themselves have the heads turned to the left, which in the impressions appeared to the right.

The Arsacidan coins all show the opposite direction of the heads, *i.e.*, to the left, with the exception of those coins, formerly considered to be Armenian coins, which are classified by Wroth among the imperial Arsacidan coinage, under the designation "Period of Mithradates I.", the tetradrachms of Phraates II. and Artaban I., and the Himeros coins. In spite of all efforts, however, the arrangement of the early Arsacidan coins cannot be considered as at all a settled matter. I know that the late A. Petrowicz never accepted the new classification, and F. Hill has expressed his doubts in his *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, p. CLXXI, n. 2. Besides the point under discussion, there are the difficulties presented by the

fact that Wroth was compelled to introduce an “*unknown king*”, that he shows among the early kings one Artaban II. who owes his existence only to an interpretation of a passage of *Trogus, prol. 42*, by v. Gutschmid long since recognized as erroneous by Markwart, and that, on the other hand, the kings Gotarzes I. and the real Orodes I., contemporaries or immediate successors of Mithradates II., who are known to us from cuneiform documents dated in their reigns, are missing in his list. The test of the direction of the heads is, in my opinion, a test even more essential and clinching than Wroth’s “test of the omphalos and throne”, and we must go back closer to the old arrangement of the coins, and consider all those with the head turned to the right as not appertaining to the Iranian series of the Arsacid Suzerains.

The arrangement of the legends is closely connected with that of the heads, though least so in the imperial Parthian coinage. Let me say, however, that the sense in which the legends are to be read is of primary importance, even there, for the true understanding of the three most interesting Arsacidan coin legends, *viz.*, one of Mithradates III. (Wroth pl. XIII, 13), one of Gotarzes II. (Wroth pl. XXVII, 2) and some of Volagases III. (pl. XXXV, 3), *cf.* fig. 1.

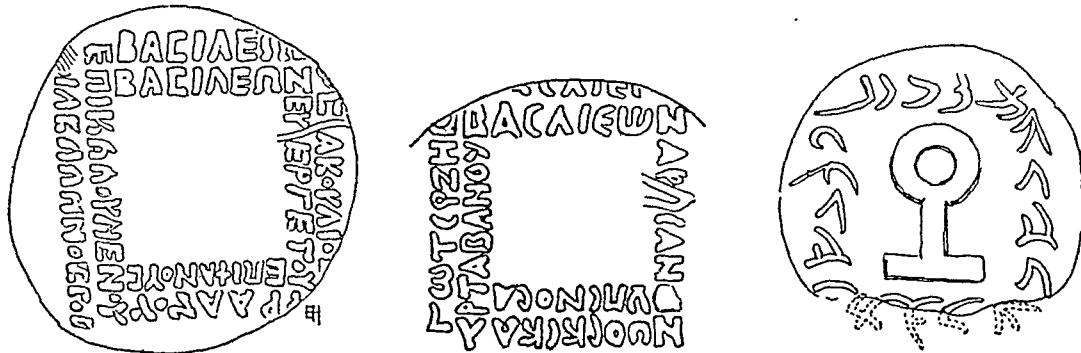


FIG. 1.—COINS OF MITHRADATES, GOTARZES AND VOLAGASES.

For the first legend, rendered by Wroth as follows:—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΛΙΟ-ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (Φ)ΡΑΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ΓΟ(Σ) ?

I do not venture any explanation, the sequence in which the different parts ought to be read being obscure to me. The second legend can only be read:

ΓΩΤΕΡΖΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΕΑΝΩΝ ΥΟΣ ΚΕΚΑΛΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΥ

“Gotarzes, king of kings of Erân, adoptive son of Hartabanos”.

The third legend must be read:

ԱՌՇԱԿ ՎԱԼԱՋԵ ՇԱհանշահ

“Arshak Walagshe shâhânhshâh”.

There are certain historical questions dependent on the true understanding of these inscriptions; and an analogous question was discussed by A. v. Staël-Holstein in the *JRAS.* for Jan. 1914 “*Was there a Kusana Race?*”, where he

proposed to read the legends of the Great Kushan in a new way. He says, *loc. cit.* p. 83: "It is difficult to think of any reason why we should not consider κανκρι as the first (or last) word of the legend, and κορανο βασιλανοραο as his title". Let us see how the facts are.

The coins of Ooemokadphises present the following variations:

(1) king sitting; the inscription begins at the right behind the head: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜΟΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ.

(2) king full size standing; the inscription begins above the head and returns there in a complete circle: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜΟΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ.

(3) the same on some copper coins, but with an interruption below between the second and the third word.

(4) bust of king to the right; the inscription begins to the right, below, at the left shoulder of the bust: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜΟΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ.

(5) bust of king to the left; the inscription begins above the head with an interruption below: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜΟΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ.

Under the following king, Kanishka, the Greek legends are replaced by Kushan ones. The Greek legends are:—

(1) king full size standing to l., the inscription begins right of head: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΚΡΟΥ.

(2) same type, the Kushan legend begins to the r. below, at the left foot: βασιλανο βαο κα/νκρι κορανο.

Under Huvishka we have:

(1) king riding, to r.; the inscription begins at the l., below, with interruption by the head βασιλανο βαο /οοκρκο κορανο.

(2) king sitting to r.; same arrangement, but interruption after first ο of the name: βασιλανο βαο ο/οκρκι κορανο.

(3) bust of king to l.; the inscription begins to the r., below, at the left arm of bust: βασιλανοραο ο/οκρκι κορανο βαο.

The first instance could be read, with v. Staël-Holstein, οοκρκι κορανο βασιλανο βαο, but this would be against the arrangement of the legends of the Kanishka coins, and against all the other coins of Huvishka. And the second instance, where another βαο follows the name, excludes definitely that reading. The complete legend is unquestionably

šaonanošao (name) košano šao

and although we cannot follow the author in his special point, he is perfectly right in holding that these kings did not call themselves "a Kushān", but "Shāh of the Kushān".

The true coins of Bazodēv show the king, full-size, standing to l., and the inscription begins to the l. below, at the foot:

βασιλανο βαο οο/οοκρκο κορανο. The legends of the later imitations of the Bazodēv coins are arranged in the same way, or else they begin above to the right, at the back of the king's head.

Now, we must turn to the imperial Sasanian coins of the first period. They show invariably the bust of the king to the right, and the legend in Pârsîk, *i.e.*, a Semitic script running to the left, is always to be read from the centre of the coin, and begins to the l. above, at the back of the head. This observation holds good for the whole series from Ardashîr I. down to Shâpûr II. The exceptions are few, *viz.*, two aurei, one in the Berlin cabinet and one in the British Museum, that have erroneously been considered to be coins of Varhrân III. but in fact belong to Narseh; one aureus of Narseh, formerly in the Bartholomaei cabinet; and about four or five aurei of Shâpûr II., two of them in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, one in the Berlin cabinet and one in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. I own another specimen of them. They show, with the exception perhaps of one of the Paris aurei of Shâpûr, on the reverse, the name of the Fire, that reoccurs on the well-known two aurei of H. Rawlinson and A. Cunningham, belonging to *Hormuzd vuzurg Kûshânshâh*. We shall explain that name below: it is the Fire of Marw. These gold coins are apparently the prototypes of the copper coins of Shâpûr II. with Kushan legends, and must be reckoned among the Kushan coins.

The Sasanian Kushan coins have two different kinds of writing, the one a Semitic script running from right to left, the other a Greek script running in the opposite direction. Both of them are, with one possible exception, to be read from the centre of the coin. They must, therefore, begin differently. We observe now, that the Kushan legends always begin above, to the right of the head of the standing king, and continue around, with an interruption at the base of the device. The Pârsîk legends, on the contrary, always begin below, to the right, at the left shoulder of the bust and end behind the bushy hair close to the right shoulder. That means that the Kushan legends follow the method of arrangement observed on the first Greek coins of Ooemokadphises and Kanishka and on the late imitations of the Bazodêv coins, immediately preceding these Sasanian coins. At the same time this arrangement coincides with that of the imperial series of the Sasanian coins. The Pârsîk legends of the Sasanian Kushan coins imitate the arrangement of the Great Kushan coins of Kanishka, Huvishka and Bazodêv. Of course, as they both run in the opposite direction, the right and left sides have been exchanged. Hence we must clearly establish the fact that the beginning of a Pârsîk legend below, at the left shoulder of the bust, is a distinctive mark of Kushan coins, in contradistinction to the Sasanian manner of making the legends commence at the back of the head. It follows that, *e.g.*, the two aurei mentioned above, attributed to Varhrân III. but belonging to Narseh—as a matter of fact there are no coins that can unquestionably be attributed to Varhrân III.—must be reckoned also among the Kushan coins. A closer study of the early Sasanian gold coins would probably result in our recognizing that many more of them belong to the Eastern possessions of the Sasanian empire.

Having found the clue to the arrangement of the legends, the deciphering of them becomes an easy matter. The finest of the cup-shaped aurei, one specimen in the British Museum and the other in the Ermitage, show the king in the attitude already described, before a small fire-altar, and wearing a crown which consists of a kind of cap, broadening at the top and adorned with two rows of large pearls, surmounted by what has been called a plume, but what is better described as a globe covered with leaves, like a large lotus-flower. The inscription is:

βοροοορογρονο α/οζορκοκορονο βογο "the god Varhran, great Kushanshah".
Cf. pl. I, no. 3.

The script of this legend is Kushan Greek, the language is pure Sasanian Pârsik. The letters B, Γ, P, and p for š are exactly as on the Kushan coins. N and K, though still distinguished, have become very similar; the difference is, that in K the last sloping stroke forms an essential part of the letter and is attached somewhere in the middle of the secend ascending stroke, whereas in N the third sloping stroke does not belong to the letter itself, but is only the connection with the following character; it begins at the end of the ascending second stroke. The genesis of the letter p has been the subject of discussion. It makes its appearance for the first time on the Kanishka coins. But looking at the preceding coins and observing there the different attempts at expressing the sound š, e.g., on the coins of Spalirises παλιριζον beside παλιριεον, or on those of Heraus (-Miaus) ΣΑΚΑ ΚΟΙΑΝΟ,—the slightly sloping thin stroke means P in other cases—and lastly on those of Kozulo-Kadphises KOPONA in Kuṣana-jawugo, and XOPΑΝΣΥ ΖΑΟΟΥ in Kuṣana(sa) jaūa(sa), we must realize that the only methodical explanation of p is its derivation from P.

The vowel A is twice used, in the last syllable of Varhrān and in the second of Kushān, both times correctly to denote long ā. The third instance, in the word shāh, is doubtful in both the coins. I should assume that the correct writing was at least intended. As a matter of fact, the two characters O and A have become almost identical. The whole difference is, that the A is a circle penned as the hand of a watch moves and therefore connecting itself with the following letter from above; the O is the same circle but written in the opposite way and therefore connected with the next letter from below.

The vowel O has various applications even in this short legend. In the first word, bag, it stands for a short, darkened a, or ā. At the same time it stands at the end of that word, as at the end of all the other words, to denote an indistinct vowel, ə, the rest of the old ending of the oblique case: -ahya, -ē, -e, and lastly -ə. In the name of the king, double O precede and follow the originally sonant P, exactly as double ə does in Awestic writing, whereas OP does not express these reduced vowels at all, and Pârsik indicates only one vowel before the consonant. Iranists transcribe the vowel before the r commonly by u. Modern Persian does not know a short ū, but

only a long *ü*, and a short *ö*, which corresponds exactly to the short “*o chiuso*” of Italian, originating from Latin *u*. It seems to me apparent that exactly the same short vowel is expressed by the first O of our legend. The second is a still shorter form of the same. Hence the true pronunciation of the name was *Wöröhrân*. For, the O that begins the name stands for the consonantic *ü*, i.e., *w*. The same is the case with the first O of the adjective. O stands for *w* on the older coins in the words: ορεαγνκς, ορλαγνο, ιρροασπο, οκρο, οααο, οανιναο, οχρο, οαχρο etc. The third O corresponds to the O before P in the king's name. The other O behind that *r* has disappeared, because the vowel of the first syllable, originally *ă*, has assumed the colour of the vowel of the second syllable. The O of the first syllable of the ethnic name remains doubtful. As in the proper name *Shápûr*—*போபோ* it may signify, here, a long *ü*. The Pârsik transliteration of the name of the Kûshân with *scriptio plena* of the *ü*, is not conclusive, since there are hundreds of cases where such an *ü* denotes only the quality, but not the quantity of the vowel.

As to the O in the last word *ραο*, it has been thought to signify an *h* in the Great Kushan title. I think wrongly. We shall see soon that our coins employ another sign for *h*. If we leave out the *h* in the titles, there are, among the whole number of the Kushan coins, only the following cases where O might possibly denote an *h*: The name written in Greek letters *Ooemokadphises* is rendered in Indian by *Hima-*. This instance we must discard, because we don't know which original sound is reflected by the two foreign renderings. The same remark holds good for the other name, written in Greek οοκρκι and in Indian inscriptions *Huvishka*. The variant ουοκρκι, indicates that there was a difficulty in the rendering of the original sound, and that a convenient style had not yet been found. The name ΛΡΟΟΑΣΠΟ, also discussed in this connection, does not come in here, for there can be no doubt that it means *Druvâsp*, with the characteristic change from *d* into *t*, and not *Luhrâsp*. The names MAO and ραορκορο are more convincing, but not absolutely conclusive, for beside MAO there appears again a variant MAOO, and the possibility exists that the O might represent a nasal. In Shahrêwar the O might be a substitute for the missing *h*, an indistinct vowel written instead of *h*. There remains, then, only the name of the Iranian Mithra, Mihr, which on the coins of Kanishka present the variants MEIPO, MI IPO, MIOPO, MIYPO, on the coins of Huvishka MIPO, MI IPO, MIOPO, MIYPO, MOPO, MYPO, MIIPO, MIPPO, and perhaps MPPO. If the custom obtained of writing O for *h*, why these variants at all? And on the other hand, in the names Ηρακλιο and Μαασηνο the *h* is not expressed. Since our Sasanian coins, then, do not employ O for *h*, we ought to conclude from the above-mentioned facts that O did not signify *h*, even in the case of the older inscriptions.

Our legends show a clearly distinguished sign for *h* in the name *Varhran* as well as in the title *shâh*. The question is, what is the origin of that

sign? Among the variants of some of the words quoted above, γ appeared as an attempt to render the missing *h*, e.g., in ονοκρκι, ΜΙΥΡΟ, ΜΥΡΟ. If we cast a glance at the tables in which I have tried to show the development of the Greek Kushan alphabet, and if we compare there the γ as it appears in the Awramān parchments and on some of the Kadphises coins, it seems to me clear that our sign is the late representative of that older sign, probably influenced by the Pārsīk *h* *ω*, written naturally from left to right: *ω*.

If this is accepted, the O in the Kushan title *paonano* *pao* cannot denote *h*, and the word must be transliterated

šaonanošao or šawnano šaw.

In which case it does not render the well-known *śahānsāh* or **śahiyānsāh* of the western Iranian dialects, derived from OP. *χšāyaθiyānām* *χšāyaθiya*. We must look, therefore, for another, similar word. At the end of the Arsacid period the ruler of Isfahan, for instance, bore the title *śād*, i.e., *śēd*, from Aw. *χšāēta* of which we have an archaic survival in the title *χšēd*, or *iχšēd*, of the kings of Farghana, repeated by the second Muhammadan dynasty of Egypt. The princes of Gharchistān in Bactria, and of Rēwshār had the title *śār*, i.e., *śēr*, Aw. **χšāθriya*, by which the princes of Bāmiyān, near Balkh, and of Khuttal were called. The word that explains the Kushan title has already been discovered by Sten Konow; it is the Soghdian *χšāvan* "might", *χšēvan* "king", *χšēvanāk* "ruling", *χšēvanqyā* "empire" and *pāt-χšāvan* "sovereign". The termination of the gen. pl. in *-ano* corresponds to the same in the Saka language, *-anu*. The last *n* of the word remained, when followed by such an ending, but disappeared in the nom. sing. Thus, *šawnano* *šaw* is a counterpart to Sak. *gyastanu* *gyasti* in form, to Soghd. *χšāvan* in matter. The language of the Great Kushan coins belongs to the eastern, and not to the western Iranian dialects. The peculiar forms of the names ιροαστο, ορλαρνο beside ΟΡΘΑΓΝΗΣ, confirm this view; for MAO and ραρκορο closer analogies than Pārs. *māh* and *šahrēvar* must be found. On the other hand the Sasanian Kushan coins do not write *šaonanošao*, like their predecessors, but *śāhə*, and in one instance, *śāhānə* *śāə*. Their language is pure Pārsīk.

The coin we have studied, has in a second line, written in smaller characters, a word which is highly important. Once deciphered, the reading is clear and a matter of course, but it was by no means so before, as two of its four letters were new. I found the reading through the study of the Greek Awramān parchments, whose Pahlavīk counterpart had been well known to me long since. This is the reason why I have entered these documents in the plate showing the development of the Kushan Greek, and there are certain observations on them that must be discussed here.

The Awramān parchments are Parthian documents dating from the first century B.C. and so far they are the only documents in cursive Greek that we

possess from that part of the world. Comparing their script with that of the Arsacid coins, it becomes perfectly evident, that the changes in the uncial script reflect only the development of the underlying cursive script; of this they are not an isolated instance, but they are the only existing representatives of cursive Parthian Greek. In his publication of these documents, E. Minns devotes two pages full of interest, and a plate, to the mere palaeographical aspect of them. He seems to have been at a loss in precisely classifying their script among the cursive Greek hands that we know. He says: "The writing is rather to be classed with book hands than with cursives", and, after having discussed some analogues with Ptolemaic papyri, he adds: "And yet the whole effect is not at all Ptolemaic, and on trying to find analogues for the ligatures I have been unsuccessful. The method of joining the letters is quite unlike the line along the top which links even such a letter as ι on to the following in many Ptolemaic hands". Now, the peculiarities which struck so great a connoisseur as Minns, appear exactly in the same way on the Kushan coins. The word $\tau\epsilon\rho\omega$ on one of the Huvishka aurei, would never have caused difficulties, if these parchments had been known at the time. My conclusion is, that exactly as the art of the Arsacid and Sasanian period is more than dependent on, nay, is a branch of Graeco-Bactrian art, so the Greek script of the Arsacid period is a branch of the Graeco-Bactrian writing represented by the Great Kushan coins.

The word in question, which caused this digression, becomes at once legible, if we cast a glance at the syllables $\lambda\omega$ and $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota$ in Minns' table: the letters are χ and λ , and the word is to be read



FIG. 2.—Mint-name on coins of Varhrān I. and Hormizd I.

i.e., *baχλ*, the middle-Persian name of old Bactra, Balkh.

The word appears on altogether four coins of three different types. It is the name of the mint-town, and this is in perfect agreement with all we know about the provenance of the coins. Cunningham has already dealt with that subject; they come all from Badakhshan, Kunduz, that is Northern Afghanistan or Bactria.

With the fact once established that mint-towns are mentioned on these coins, the idea presented itself to me, that another word on many specimens of the second group of Kushan coins, *viz.*, those with Pārsik legends, which had been left unexplained or altogether misunderstood, might be the name of another mint. The word is best known from the aureus of *Hormuzd vuzurg Kūshān shāhānshāh* formerly in H. Rawlinson's possession, now in the British

Museum. It appears there, as always, on the reverse above the fire-altar in the second line, in the same place as the word *Bazl*. In some instances it stands next or among the flames. It cannot be inserted into the main legend which is complete but must be read apart, and hence I always assumed that it was the name of the Fire, the more so as all the coins containing this word show remarkable similarities. The word is *אַבְזָל*.

This word is not Iranian, but a Semitic ideogram, and, since the final *-y* is not a Pârsik termination, it is a pure ideogram without a phonetic complement. The Aram. root is *תְּבָזָה*, "king"; with the termination it is the adjective "royal". In Pârsik it would be *šâhikân*. Indeed, the *Frahang ē Pahlavîk* shows that this word had been written ideographically as *אַבְזָל*. The first letter of both the words is the same. The second letter of the word in the *Frahang*, originally *n*, *w*, or *r*, stands for *l* in many, and especially in short ideograms like *אַבְזָל*, *אַבְזָל*, *אַבְזָל*, *אַבְזָל*, *אַבְזָל*. The last sign of the ideogram of the *Frahang* looks like a, but can be read as a compound of two *ו*, in at least ten different ways. I believe anyone who has studied the intricacies of the Pahlavî ideograms, will agree with me, if I take this *ו* as a corruption of *וּ-ky*, this being a termination foreign to Pârsik words, and, as far as I can see, unique also among the Semitic ideograms, and therefore particularly liable to misrepresentation. Independently of this, *אַבְזָל* must be read *šâhikân* "royal". The old Persian poets use this word in a restricted meaning for a royal treasure, Firdausi almost as the name of the prodigious treasure of Khusrau Parwêz. In the Pârsik writings, *gânj ē šâhikân*, "the Royal treasure", is the title commonly given to the *Yâtkâr ē Vuzurgmîhr*, the "Memoirs" of the grandvizier of Khusrau I., because its first passage is :

"MAN vužyrgMIHR ē buxtakan "hargu" pet šapistân ŠAIIH ē an*tiyôk*ân
žystrôd darîkpet EN aYâtkâr AŽ framândât žystrôd ŠÂLLân ŠAII
. . . . kirt U PA ganj ē š(A)hikân NIHÂT."

"By me, Vuzurgmîhr son of Bukhtak, hargupet (highest dignitary of the empire) and darîkpet of the shapistân (either minister of the Court or possibly grand-eunuch) of the town Antiocheia-Khusrau, these memoirs, by order of Khusrau king of kings, have been made and deposited in the Shâhikân Treasure-house."

As the author lived in Ctesiphon (Antiocheia Khusrau is the new quarter of that metropolis, founded by Khusrau I. after the conquest of Antiocheia on the Orontes) and as the Byzantine authors *Theophanes* and *Anastasios*, as well as the *Chronicon Paschale*, speak of a new treasure-house built by the king in Ctesiphon, possibly at the spot called to this day Khazne i Kisrâ, the "treasure-house of Khusrau", it seems that this "Royal Treasure-house", notwithstanding that *Theophanes* gives its name as "the house of Darkness", was in Ctesiphon. The introductory passage of *Vuzurgmîhr* recalls another famous passage of the *Dênkard*:

“Dârây è dârâyân hamâk apastâk U zand cégôr zartuštê AŽ ohromuzd patgriftê nipištak II pacêne èvak PA ganjê è šapîkân (var.: šaspîkân) èvak PA dižê è nipišt dâštanê framûtê.”

“By Daray, son of Daray, was ordered to keep the entire Awesta and Zand, as it had been received by Zoroaster from Hormuzd, written in two copies, one in the treasure of Shapîkân (or Shaspîkân, uncertain spelling, and of unknown etymology), one in the Dizh e nipišt (the ‘Castle of the Writings’).”

And: “Š(â)hpuhr ŠÂHânŠÂH è artaxšîrân nipiškâhâc è AŽ dêne BE . . . APÂČ Ô ham ÂWURtan . . . U pačen Ô ganj è šapîkân (šaspîkân) dâštanê framûtê.”

“By Shahpuhr, king of kings, son of Ardashir, was ordered to collect again also the non-religious writings . . . and to keep a copy in the Shapîkân treasure-house.”

In the *Shahrehâ é Érân*, another work composed during the early Muhammadan period, under the chapter “Samarkand”, it is said, that Kaikhusrau, the mythical representative of the historical Arsacid Artaban II., founded the Varhrân-Fire of Samarkand, and “PAS zartušt dêne ÂWURt AZ framân vištasp-š(â)h MCC fargart PA dêne dipêwarîh PA tâxtakâhâ ZARêñ kand U nipišt U PA ganj è ÂN âtaxš NIHÂT. U PAS gujastak sükandar sôxt UT ANDAR Ô daryâp AFKANT dênkard è haft xvatâyân.”

“Afterwards when the religion had been brought by Zardusht, 1200 chapters in religious writing were engraved and written on gold tablets and deposited in the treasure-house of that Fire by order of king Vishtasp, and afterwards by the cursed Alexander was burnt and thrown into the sea the Dênkard of seven kings.”

These passages make it clear that the great Fires were at the same time official archives. And the description which Byzantine authors give of the famous fire-temple at Ganjak, the capital of Âdharbajân, allude also to the royal treasures kept at those places. We don’t need to discuss here, whether the Ganj è Shâhîkân and the Ganj è Shaspîkân or Shapîkân, are identical or not. Personally, I think they are. But the conclusion is obvious, that the Fire-temples contained archives and treasure-houses, and “Shâhîkân”, i.e., the Royal sc. treasure-house, is a fit name for a Fire.

Another ascertained fact is that Shâhîkân was the surname of the town of Marw. It was called so by the early Arabs who established there the centre of their government of Khorâsân, only continuing what had been so at least during the late Sasanian period. It is called so also in the early Persian romance of Wés and Ramîn. The surname distinguishes this Marw from the other one, Marwrôt, situated farther south.

In the Pahlavî *book of Zarér*, composed ab. the beginning of the VIth century, Marw has the surname “Zoroastrian”, and in the first fargard of the *Vidévdât*, a work of the early Arsacid period, we find a surname of

similar meaning, *viz.* : "the strong Marw, the holy", literally the "truthful, truth-cultivating-one". These last two surnames characterize Marw as a centre of Zoroastrianism, in opposition—exactly the opposition evident from the two groups of coins—to Balkh, the great centre of Buddhism, the seat of the Barmacid priest of the Nauvihāra. The Zoroastrian Marw must have had a great Fire-temple, and I think it is only logical to attribute a similar meaning to the first surname and to regard it as the name of even that Fire. Hence, Marw e Shāhikān means Marw with the Shahikan-Temple. The similarity between the ideogram of the surname, 𐭩, and the real name 𐭩, or 𐭩 suits wholly the spirit of Pahlavī scribes.

The observations that the mint-name appears under the form of an ideogram, and that the surname replaces the original name of the town, do not militate against this identification. Another ideogram is 𐭩, *i.e.*, DAR, the "Porte", the exclusive symbol for the mint of Ctesiphon on the coins, and the official surnames completely replace the old local names in official use during the Sasanian period, like Artaxšīr-χvarrēh for older Guvbar, later Gōr, Ērān-χvarrēh-(or-farrax-kirt-)Šāhpuhr for old Susa (later Shūsh) Vēh-antiyōx-Šāhpuhr (Gundēshāpūr) for old Bēt-Lāpāt, Nēw-Shāhpuhr for old Aparshahr, etc. Marw was the residence of Ardashīr I. for a while, after he had conquered the Kushan realm. It was also for a long time one of the largest mint-towns of Iran. The first mint-names appear on the coins of Varhrān IV. (388-99). After Varhrān V. (430-38), the town appears under the form of MLKY and of ML, which might be an abbreviation of MLKY as well as of MLWY, of Shāhikān and of Marw. After the catastrophe of Pērōz in the Hephthalite war, Marw was lost, and its name disappears from the coins of Valagsh and of the first reign of Kavāt. Then it reappears and continues until the end, with the exception of the coins of some of the short-lived kings of the troubled period between Khusrāu II. and Yazdkirt III. The last Sasanian coin of Marw dates from the year 20 of Yazdkirt III. (651-2), the year when he was murdered, like the last Achaemenid, in the neighbourhood of the town. But we must not forget that these last coins may possibly be the first coins of the Arabs. The mint survived and issued silver coins of the Sasanian type until the reform of Abdulmalik, when it was changed into one of the great Umayyad mints, and as Marw e Shāhejān it still appears on the coins of Khāns of Khīva.

Before continuing the decipherment of the Kushan legends, I must refer to still a third name of a mint-town, but only as a plausible suggestion. The silver drachms of Pērōz Kūshānshāh, son of Ardashīr I., in the Brit. Mus., have at the place where MLKY appears on the Rawlinson aureus, the signs 𐭩, which may be read either SMē or YYē, with all the possible variants (it is not impossible to take the y as a very small l). I propose the reading *Samarkand*. Samarkand, the capital of Soghd, formed one satrapy together with Balkh, during the Achaemenian period. There is

every probability that it belonged to the Kushan realm. And there is no historical reason against that assumption during the third century A.D. But we have no means of proving it; for the only scientific method of establishing the identity of the Sasanian mint-monograms with certain towns, *viz.*, by proving the continuity down to the Umayyad period, is wanting here. Samarkand was lost to Iran early in the fourth century, and hence does not appear among the Sasanian mint-towns nor on the Umayyad coins.

The mint-monograms in Sasanian numismatics have been treated by the older authors, Thomas, Dorn and Mordtmann, with a comprehensible arbitrariness, but by the latest writers, de Morgan and Parruck, in an inexcusably unscientific spirit. Neither has the slightest notion how to attack the problem. The Umayyad mint-names are written in full and in a clearly legible script. We must classify them according to the administrative divisions of the early Muhammadan empire, which was only a continuation of the Sasanian administration, and endeavour first to identify the Umayyad names with the Sasanian abbreviations. There exist a number of Sasanian monograms as well as of Umayyad and early Abbasid mint-towns. These must be attributed according to geographical and historical indications. In suggesting identifications for the remaining monograms, we must preferably refer to the official names of the Sasanian towns, and then to the common names, as found in the *Shahrâhâ é Erân* and other Pahlavî books. Some Sasanian seals and seal impressions of purely official character present in the centre the same abbreviations as the coins, and at the margin the same names written in full, *e.g.*, Bê-Shâhpûhr 𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩 𐭩; Âmul 𐭠𐭩 𐭩 Uruk 𐭠𐭩 𐭩 𐭩 𐭩 𐭩 𐭩 𐭩 𐭩; the district East of Baghdad 𐭠𐭩 𐭩 𐭩 𐭩 𐭩 𐭩 𐭩 𐭩. These are of great help.

The reading of the letters 𐭠𐭩 as SM_ē "Samarkand", seems to me free from objection, but I do not need to insist upon it here, as no conclusions are to be drawn from this suggestion. But in comparing the two groups of coins, fixed by their mint-names as belonging either to Balkh or to Marw, we must note the very interesting facts, that the Sasanian Kushan coinage with legends in Greek Kushan script was that of Balkh, the one with Pârsik legends that of Marw; that the cup-shaped aurei belong to Balkh, those of Sasanian style to Marw; that no silver coin at all belongs to Balkh, but all to Marw or Samarkand; that the Rev. types of non-Zoroastrian character or with clearly Buddhist character, like Siva and the Nandi bull, the king adoring before Buddha, Mithra on the throne in half-profile all non-Sasanian types, belong to Balkh or perhaps to Samarkand; and that only Hormizd on the throne under a dais and a special archaic type of the fire-altar belong to Marw.

With these facts set forth we may now proceed to study the remainder of the legend on our first cup-shaped gold coin from Balkh, that on the Reverse. The reverse legend is the same on all the coins, but it soon degenerates and only the earliest can be used for the purpose of decipherment.

The reverse type is developed from that of the late Bazodēv coins which bear the legend ὥρπο, a surname of Śiva. Hence we expect to find something similar in our legend, the more so as the Pērōz silver coin contains also the name of the god in its reverse legend. There is always the same long word to the right of the standing god and the bull, and the same short word to the left of the bull. It is possible to read the short word IOZΔO, *yozdo*. The objections are, first, that we disregard in this case the last letter O; secondly, that there are no means of proving that the first letter is I. Almost the same word occurs on a Nicolo seal published by Cunningham, on which a Sasanian prince is represented adoring before the Indian god Vishnu, a counterpart of the coins of Pērōz, representing that king adoring before Buddha. The only difference in the word is that p replaces Z. The first vowel on the seal looks like A, and hence we ought to transcribe *yazdə* also on the coins. Unfortunately, the seal inscription is apparently non-Iranian; its letters might be read in this way:

ΤΑΓΟΡΑΟ ΙΑΡΔΟΟ ΑΤΧ

FIG. 3.—Inscription on Nicolo Seal.

ΤΑΓΟΡΑΟ ΙΑΡΔΟΟ ΑΤΧ.

The first two letters are not clearly distinguishable, the last one is absolutely unknown, the last but one is doubtful, in each case partly on account of the shortening of the letters in the photograph. The value of our sign cannot be proved, because it does not assume this round shape either on the Great Kushan coins, nor on the Awraman parchments; and on the subsequent Chionite coins, as we shall see presently, it has the same straight shape as of old. On the other hand, the sign in question looks much like σ on the Great Kushan coins and in the Awraman parchments, but this letter is preferably connected with the following ones from above, and not, as in our case, from below. Hence we are just as unable to prove that it is σ.

The long word at the right contains clearly the letters ρζ in the middle, accompanied on both sides by a ligature, looking like connected double oo or οο or δο, but hardly ου. But this ligature is not used in the same way in, e.g., οοροκραο οοζορκο ολρομοζΔο; hence it is apparently neither *wo* nor *do*. The last letters resemble αμ, and in a few cases they are followed by three more signs. Curiously enough, this word, too, has its counterpart on another Amethyst seal published by Cunningham. There we see:

ବୋର୍ଜୋର୍ଜୋ ବୋର୍ଜୋ or ବୋର୍ଜୋର୍ଜୋ

FIG. 4.—Inscription on Amethyst Seal.

The last four letters are hardly legible on the plate, and Cunningham transcribes his version of them in different way at two places and is of no help. Comparing the script of the Awraman parchments, it becomes evident that they are ligatures of the same type. The beginning β is doubtless on the seal,

but seems to me to be erroneous and influenced by his reading of that seal, wherever he thought to recognize it on the coins. Once, as our table shows, the compound letter is replaced by a sign which looks like ω , but has in these legends the signification m , μ . The word *borzo-* of the seal has quite a Pârsîk appearance; so, too, would *oorzo-*. But almost nothing can be established with certainty. The god is evidently Šiva, who had lost two of his heads and one pair of arms already on the late Vasishka coins, but I do not know of any surname of his resembling the word on the coins. The assumption may be wrong, and instead of suggesting any surnames of Šiva, rendered or translated into Pârsîk, we must consider the possibility that the reverse legend, which resembles the non-Iranian legend of the seal, is not Pârsîk like that of the obverse, but in the Kushan language.

If we look once more at the table showing the legends of the cup-shaped aurei, we find in lines 5 to 8 a fresh name: οὐρομοζαο, or *Ohr^omozd*. The title does not vary. The preceding word *bay^o* is missing but this is of no importance, since the Pârsîk coins of the same king give him the title "*mazdēsn bay^o*", and he has all the emblems of a member of the Sasanian family. On the last of his coins, taken from Cunningham's Pl. V, H (put into the right order), we remark a longer title, *viz.*, *šâhânâšâh*. The same higher title is borne by the king on the Rawlinson aureus and perhaps on a copper coin of the Marw group. Unfortunately, a photograph of the gold coin in question has not been shown by Cunningham, and when looking through—although quickly—the cup-shaped aurei of the British Museum, I could not find it there. (A fine specimen in 'Don Hackin', Cabinet des Médailles.)

The script of the two Berlin specimens is very close to that of the first coin discussed. But there is a noticeable uncertainty in the letter μ ; the first has the normal Greek form, also found in the Awr. parchments (those have two different μ , of which the smaller one is that of the Parthian coins) and in looking down the lines, we understand how, with the next coins, the μ reaches a shape similar or identical with ω . The h , too, begins to vary, a change that makes us understand the twofold shape it assumes in the subsequent legends: one shape for the beginning of a word, perhaps a sort of uncial, and another one in the interior, *e.g.*, in *šâh*. This movement continues and ends quite consequently in the shape the h offers on the coins of the kings of Zâbul (ll. 25-30). The name of the third king in our table (ll. 9-14) is the same as that of the second, but invariably written in a different orthography which reveals a change in the pronunciation: *μορμζαο*, *hormzد*, instead of οὐρομοζαο, *ohromozd*. To distinguish the two kings, I write their names always according to the orthography of their coins. Script and change of name, together, do not allow us to attribute the coins to one and the same king Hormuzd. The main attribute and means of distinguishing the coins, the crowns, are also different, as well as the whole style of them. Cunningham did not remark the difference, and it is evident that in his description he has made mistakes. He shows on

Plate IV, 3, the king Hormzde, without the globe, and he describes in the text (no. 3 & 4) the king Ohromozde with the globe; in the text he gives the legend as reproduced in our table 1. 7, while on the plate appears that reproduced in 1. 9.

So far the sequence of the legends does not present palaeographical difficulties. But the following ones are less easy to arrange. There are three kings, the first with a pair of ram's horns, the second with a zigzagged cap, the third with three palmettes. The first and second (ll. 15-18) have the name Vorohran, like the first king of the whole group; the name of the last is illegible. The title *bōy* reappears on all the coins, the mint-town $\beta\alpha\chi\lambda\sigma$ on the Berlin specimen of the ram's horn king. The letter *h* has in some cases an archaic shape. But in contradistinction to these signs of an earlier age, there is no longer any difference between O and A, and almost none between N and K, both of which have assumed a decidedly changed form, resembling an X; the Z too has changed, and on one of the coins the *h* has already the shape it shows on the much later coins of Zabul. As the type of the coins, Rev. and Obv., is decidedly changed for the worse, and as this difference in style cannot be explained on grounds of greater age, because it does not agree with the preceding Bazodēv coins, we must conclude that this second group of cup-shaped aurei followed the other one. Compared among themselves, it is apparent that the coins of Vorohran with the ram's horns are the first coins of the second group.

Next comes a coin of a third Vorohran, with a crown much like that of the first king, the two rows of pearls being replaced by a zigzag, but the style is totally changed: it marks a step farther in the development that began under his predecessor. The symbols in the field, too, are different. Let it be noted, also, that the legend is already faulty: e.g., $oo\zeta\sigma\sigma\sigma$ without *x*, $zooovo$ with o for *p* and an *v* that looks faulty, but, judged by the script of the Awraman parchments, might be a more cursive form, and lastly, a quite new shape of *p* in $sah\sigma$ and the *h* of the Zabul coins.

Line 19 of our table shows the legend of the last king of the group, debased like the whole type of the coin. The legend must be considered as no longer legible. There is a silver coin in the Calcutta Museum with a bust bearing exactly the same crown and one might feel inclined to attribute both to the same king. Unfortunately, the legend of the silver piece (see pl. 2, no. 20), though perfectly well written, resists any attempt at reading; it ends in *-rhrān*, but no less clear is the fact that there was no *va-* preceding it, but something like *pyd-* or perhaps *ps-*. On the aureus the name seems to begin with an *M-*. Until further evidence is furnished by new finds of coins, I should prefer to consider the silver piece as a later imitation, in the same sense as other Sasanian Kushan coins have been imitated by the Chionites and Hephthalites.

The copper coins with Kushan and with bilingual legends, add but little to our knowledge. The reverses, as far as they are legible at all,

contain traces or parts of the reverse legend of the cup-shaped aurei. The reverse inscription of Hormzde is entirely repeated on some copper coins (Table 1, line 21). Two coins in the British Museum and two in my own possession give together most probably the legend (Table 1, line 2) **ροθόρο** [οοζορκο κο] **ρομορούο** perhaps **ρονορο**. This king wears a crown of three pinnacles of a palmette-like design, surmounted by large pearls. Other coins of another king with the normal crown of Shāpūr II show clearly the legend (Table 1, line 23) **ροθόρο**.

This orthography of the name presents a problem. NP. has preserved the pronunciation *p* of the middle consonant. Greek authors write mostly Σαπωρης, Σαπορης but not seldom Σαβωρης. Ammianus and Zosimus, the historians of Julian the Apostate, render the official name of the town Anbār, Pérōz-šāhpuhr, by Pirisabora, Βηρσαβωρα. So Gundēšāhpuhr is rendered by Theophylakt by Βενδεισαβορων. The Talmud and Syriac authors, since the time of Shāpūr II., regularly have *רָבָבָש* with *b*. Hence, it seems that the name had one official, archaic form, from which is derived NP *„šābūr*, and besides, at least since the time of Shāpūr II., a vulgar form with *b*, reflected by the other foreign renderings and the Kushan coins. The vowel was *ū*, not *ō*, in spite of the Greek renderings; for it rhymes with *dār* in *Wēs ū Ramin*, and *-pūr* with *dastūr* in the Shāhnāme. We learn, that Kushan *O* stands also for *ū* and must, therefore, transcribe the name, *šābūr*.

The Greek Kushan alphabet continued to be used after the Sasanian period. There are three silver coins distinctly belonging together, which show an imitation of the coins of the middle period of Shahpur II, with the large symbol **☒** in the field, and the legend shown in Table 1, lines 24 and 25. The legend consists of two words, of which the second is clearly OIONO. This name is to Aw. *hyaona*, Pārs. *χιγδन*, Lat. *Chionitae*, exactly as **οοτρόκο** is to *Huvishka*. The first word must be either the name or the title. It begins with **X** and probably **XGO**. We must expect something corresponding either to the name *Grumbates*, or to the title *khaqan*. Two specimens of the coin are reproduced in drawing by Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, one of them by Cunningham after a photograph, a third specimen, in the possession of M. Parruck, in a cliché which does not permit the use of a magnifying lens. The legends of the first two coins are apparently identical, in spite of some differences in the designs; the third one is of another type, but certainly not the fanciful Pārsik legend as Parruck reads it. It stands half way between the first two legends and those of the earliest Hepthalite legends, from which the next example (l. 26 in our Table) is taken. This one is written from right to left. The last word, left of the head of the bust, like that on Parruck's coin, is clearly *šāhə*; I believe the first to be *Hptl*.

The next legends (ll. 27 and 28) belong to different Hepthalite kings whose legend is simply **ροθο** **ζοβολ** i.e. *šāhə* *Zābul*. The last two legends

belong to later coins of the period of Khusrau Parwêz, and contain the words *cp̄i p̄o ho Sri Śâh*. My aim, in adding these legends here, is only to show that the script survived for a long time; which were the last shapes assumed by certain of the Greek letters; and that the first Chionite coins follow immediately the Sasanian Kushan coins during the reign of Shâpûr II.

So far the arrangement of the coins has been based entirely on palaeographic evidence. The numismatic or archaeological evidence confirms this arrangement. I have studied 19 coins of the cup-shaped group, belonging to the British Museum, the Berlin Cabinet and the Ermitage. I have examined the specimens in the Kabul Museum, but I have not seen those in Paris. I remember reading a description by Drouin of some of them, and find on an old note "Drouin, *Rev. Num.* 1896 pl. V. coll. Blanc, Hormuzd with helmet with lion's head, Varhran with zigzagged crown, Varhrân with palmettes." I am unable to verify at the present whether Drouin treats the specimens published by Cunningham or others. As far as I can see, the other coins belong to the same six kings as those I have studied. The obverse of the coins invariably shows the type described at the beginning of this article, the reverse always the god Śiva standing with the Nandi bull. The type is derived from that of the Bazodêv coins, and their immediate imitations, and not from those last coins of the Kushan type that form the transition to the Gupta coinage, and which I regard as the coinage of the successors of the Great Kushans in the Kabul valley, the *Kâbulshâhs* under Sasanian suzerainty.

The cup-shaped aurei show, first and foremost, one external difference: in spite of the strongly defined cup-shaped profile, and in spite of their thinness, the coins classified as the older group are equally well executed on both sides, whereas the reverses of the second group are more or less imperfectly executed,—owing, apparently, to a decay of technique.

The chief means of distinguishing the coins are the crowns of the kings, exactly as on the imperial Sasanian coins. I want to emphasize here the fact, that even to-day, when we are much advanced in reading the legends of the imperial series, the classification is mainly based upon the distinctive crowns, not on the readings of the legends, of which an astonishing number are faulty or worse. In looking through Parruck's large work on Sasanian coins, one might gain a contrary impression, but that would be an error; his readings, in so far as they are not simply reproduced from previous ones, are phantastical or incorrect, and wherever the principle of arrangement according to the crowns is departed from, e.g., where he is classifying Kushan coins as Sasanian ones, the attribution is *a priori* wrong.

Although the different crowns of the Sasanian kings have never been adequately studied and although I have had the whole material prepared long

since, I must postpone the publication of it until I am able simultaneously to publish large photographs of the heads of the great Sasanian sculptures. Not a single one of the Sasanian crowns is reproduced exactly by the Kushan kings. As a general rule, the former are richer. That is only to be expected when we remember the extraordinary rich and complicated crowns, *e.g.*, of the *Erān-ambārakpet* on the large carnelian seal in the Brit. Museum, the

crowns of the Hephthalite kings (fig. 5), and the figures represented on the paintings of Central Asia. The crowns of the Kushan governors stand half-way between, according to their geographical and historical position. Whereas the crowns of the Sasanian emperors are full of emblems alluding to their Zoroastrian religion, the Kushan crowns are poor in religious emblems.

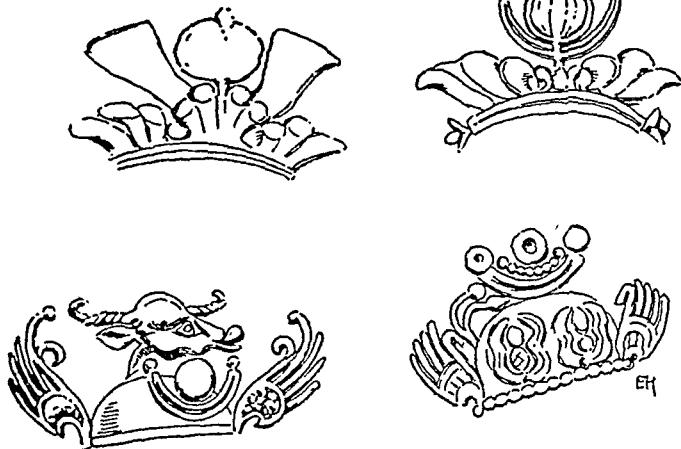


FIG. 5.—Crowns of Hephthalite kings.

The first Vorohran (fig. 6) bears a cap, widening a little at the top, adorned with two rows of huge pearls, with the narrow diadem, the emblem of royalty, at the lower edge, the two ends of which float behind the cap. This cap is surmounted by a globe covered with large leaves, somewhat like a rose bud. The next

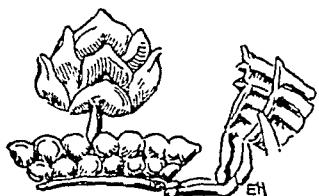


FIG. 6.—Crown of Vorohran
Coin No. 7 a.

king, *Ohromozd* (fig. 7) wears a helmet of Sasanian style, peaked forward at the top and fronted by a lion's head. The crest of the helmet consists of the lion's mane. The diadem at the lower edge of the helmet has

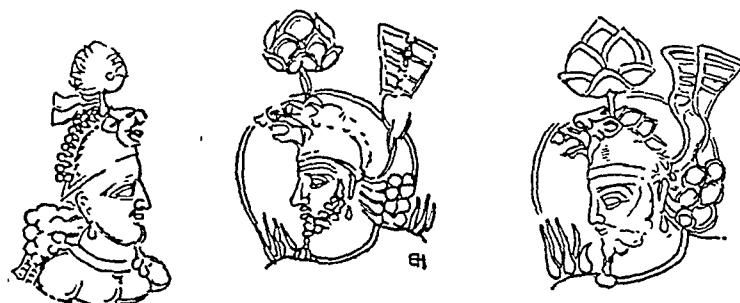


FIG. 7.—Crown of Hormizd I, Kūshānshāhānshāh. Coins Nos. 9 a and b, and 10. two floating ends. The helmet is surmounted by the same flower-like globe. This kind of helmet, surmounted by an animal's head, whether of a lion, a horse, an eagle, or of the Sasanian hippocamp, is, on the great sculptures as well as on some coins, the exclusive emblem of the members of the royal

family next to the throne, including the queen. Shâpûr I wears such a helmet on the unique coin in the British Museum which he issued as heir to the crown and co-regent.

The third king, *Hormzd*, (fig. 8) has almost the same head-dress, but the

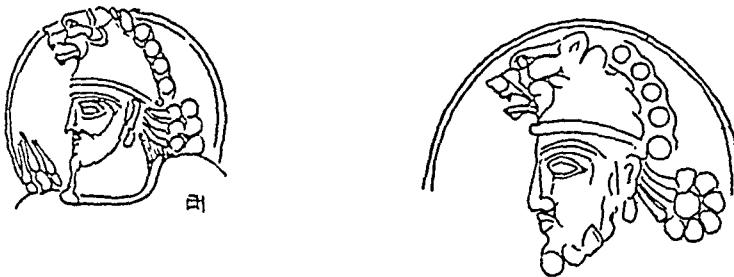


FIG. 8.—Crown of Hormzd. Coin No. 15 c. and d.

crest of the helmet is formed by a row of large pearls, and he has neither the diadem nor the globe. On all sculptures and coins the globe and diadem are the indispensable attributes of a ruling member of the Sasanian house, the diadem signifying royalty, the globe the celestial origin of the family. From the absence of these symbols, confirmed by the fact that the attribute *baye* is also missing in the legend, we must conclude that this king was not a Sasanian.

The first king in the second group, *Vorohran*, (fig. 9) has a crown con-

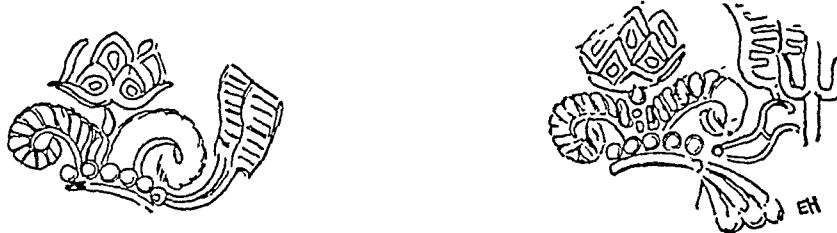


FIG. 9.—Crown of Varhran I, Kâshânsâhâ. Coins No. 18 a. and b.

sisting of a row of pearls over the narrow diadem, and above them a pair of large ram's horns, surmounted by the usual flower-like globe. Ammianus Marcellinus, the historian of Julian the Apostate, tells us that Shâpûr II wore a pair of ram's horns on his helmet in battle; his crown was the mural crown of Ardashîr I and Shâpûr I, but he did not of course go into the field with the crown on his head, but with a royal emblem on his helmet. This emblem signifies the "Iranian Majesty", which, according to the story in the *Kârnâmak é Artâjšîr é Pâpâkân*, followed Ardashîr on his flight from the court of Ardashîr V in the shape of a huge ram of extraordinary beauty. Although there are slight differences, we must surely attribute, with Smirnoff, the finest and oldest of all the Sasanian silver dishes, published by him on pl. XXV, no. 53, and discovered

at Kertchewa in the Province of Perm, to the king on our coins. Fig. 10 repre-



FIG. 10.—Head of Varhrân I from silver dish, Ermitage.

sents the head of the king portrayed on the dish; the pearls are much reduced here, or, rather, they are much exaggerated on the coins, and the hair is bushy and curly, not plaited as on the coins, while the globe is only fluted, not covered with leaves. But the same fluted globe is "worn by two other Kushan kings on coins, and by the king of the famous cameo of the Bibliothèque Nationale, wrongly attributed to Shâpûr I, in which the Greek influence is so strong, and which must be considered, therefore, as an Eastern work, more dependent on Graeco-Bactrian art than the

normal Sasanian works. And the

same change in the hair-dress appears on the sculptures and coins of Narseh Shâhânshâh. The differences are not important enough to postulate another king with the ram's horns. The silver dish has an inscription on its back that has not yet been deciphered. It is apparent that the writing is Soghdian, and that the script stands midway between the old Soghdian document discovered by Sir Aurel Stein and attributed by him to the first century A.D., and the great number of much later Soghdian manuscripts. The inscription reads:—

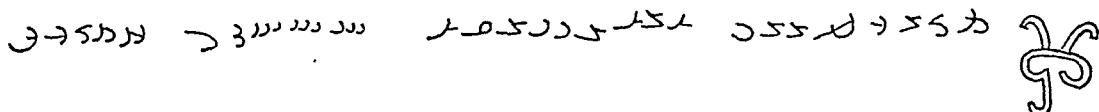


FIG. 11.—Soghdian inscription on silver dish of Varhrān I. (Ermitage).

The second king of the second group (fig. 12) has almost the same crown as the first Vorohran, with the only difference that a zigzag replaces the two rows of pearls. That difference alone would not be sufficient to separate the coins, the more so as the names are identical. But there is the marked difference of the script and the entire difference of the style of the coins which make the separation obligatory.

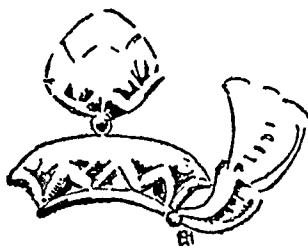


FIG. 12.—Crown of Vorohran II
Kushānshāh. Coin No. 21.

The last crown of the gold coins, that of the king with the illegible legend (fig. 13), consists of three palmettes, arranged like the three pinnacles of a mural crown, with diadem and fluted globe. Beside the floating ends of the diadem there appear the ends of a second ribbon tied to the globe. The same crown reappears on the silver coin, already mentioned, of the Calcutta Museum, which might be a Marw issue of the

same king or a later imitation, and the same crown is very nearly copied by two or three of the Kidāra kings. Its origin is the turreted crown showing three pinnacles, which belongs to the God Hormuzd and the goddess Analit, and which had been adopted by Ardashîr I., Shâpûr I and II. It formed the main part of most of the Sasanian crowns, and has been revived by Rezâ Shah Pahlavî at the present day. The end of the artistic development of this type is the merely decorative crown of the Kidâra kings.

Before examining the other distinctions between these coins, we must add some more crowns, which occur only on copper coins and on silver coins of the Marw series.

First we have Pérôz, son of Ardashîr I., on the two important silver coins of the Brit. Museum. The crown (fig. 14) takes the form of an Egyptian



FIG. 14.—Crown of Pérôz I Kushānshāh. Coin No. 5.

cornice, consisting of leaves with the top bent forward, every leave surmounted by a pearl. The diadem is there, but no globe. Very similar to it is the crown of a king (fig. 15) of whom I possess a copper coin, unique as far



FIG. 15.—Crown of a nameless Governor. Coin No. 27.

as I am aware. The leaves are broader, and less in number, and there are no pearls. The legend is quite obliterated, but the name must have been a very short one. Another king (fig. 16) has the large pearls and the same diadem as

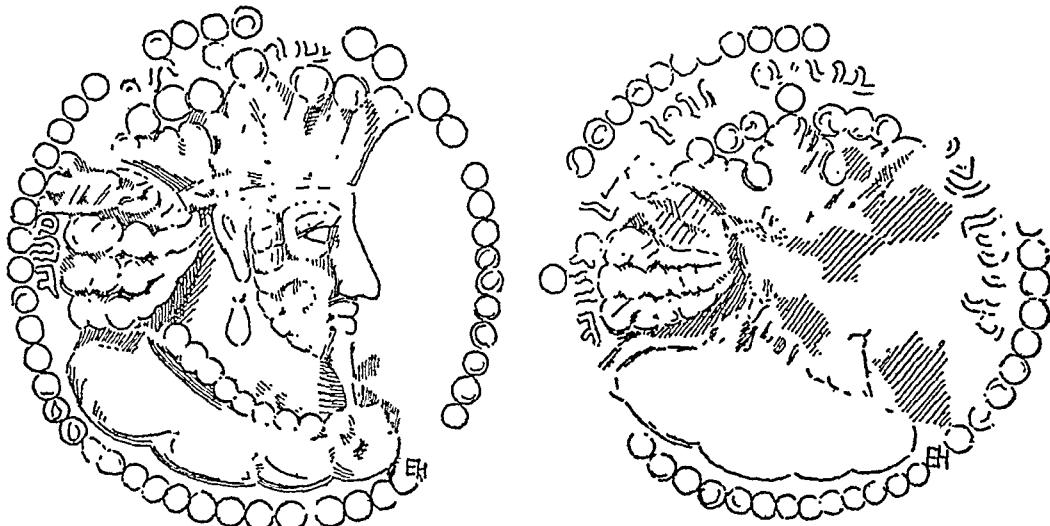


FIG. 16.—Crown of Shāpūr I Kūshānshāh. Coins No. 3 a & b.

Pērōz, also no globe, but the crown itself has the shape of three pinnacles that begin to assume the shape of palmettes. His name is most probably *Shāh-puhr*, and he belongs to the first ones of the group.

Other coins continue to show a cap with a single row of large pearls (fig. 17),



FIG. 17.—Crown of Hormizd-Ormies.
Coin No. 24a.



FIG. 18.—Crown of Pêrôz II.
Coin No. 31 a.

treasury of the Amirs of Badakhshân in 1829 (fig. 19). Among my own coin



FIG. 19.—Crown of a King on
Silver Dish. A. Burnes.

the usual mural crown of that king, only the jewels which adorn the crown are more numerous than on the usual Sasanian coins.

to which is attached a pair of eagle's wings, the whole surmounted by the striped globe. The eagle's wings on the Great Kushan coins are the attribute of the god *opârno*, *i.e.*, *Vrôrayna*, *Varhrân*, but the name of the king is Hormizd Kûshânshâh. A very similar crown is worn by Hormuzd II Shâhânshâh, the difference being simply the shape and position of the globe. Lastly, there is on several copper coins a

king (fig. 18) wearing a cap, broadening at the top, and fluted like the cap worn by Narseh Shâhânshâh, with a diadem, and surmounted by a crescent encircling the globe. The crescent, the symbol of the moon-god Mâh is one of the most common emblems of the Sasanian imperial crowns. It is found alone, without a crown, only combined with the diadem, on a silver dish of which Smirnoff's atlas shows a drawing (Pl. XXXIV, no. 62); it was acquired by Sir Alex. Burnes from the

treasury of the Amirs of Badakhshân in 1829 (fig. 19). Among my own coin there is one copper piece with the same diadem and crescent only, which seems to be pre-Sasanian, and to belong to a certain class of Sub-Arsacidan coins from the region of Bukhara and Samarkand. Finally, the gold coins of the Marw series, which had been attributed to Varhrân III., but which I claim as coins of Narseh, show the usual crown of Narseh, but like his sculpture at Naqsh-i-Rustam, without the large palmettes surmounting the upper edge of the cap, and the coins of Shâpûr II Shâhânshâh, of the Marw group,

show, like his small copper coins with Kushan legends

the usual mural crown of that king, only the jewels which adorn the crown are more numerous than on the usual Sasanian coins.

The whole execution of the cup-shaped aurei of the first three kings is of remarkably good workmanship. The composition of the figures in the circle, the relation between the design and the field, are well balanced. The figures are tall, on the coins of Hormzde very slim. The coins of the later three kings show a total change; the workmanship is inferior, the proportions of the figures are grotesque, the head with the crown measuring more than half the length of the body, and the design fills the ground completely.

The coins of the first three kings are of one style. There is movement in the body, the right hip slightly bent outward, the middle of the body seen in three-quarter profile, a remarkable difference in the perspective design of right and left shoulder and arm-pit (a problem which Sasanian art never succeeded in solving even in its master-pieces), the hands are delicately drawn, the feet seen slightly from above, with clear indication of the heels. All these are features found again, in more developed form, in the later Buddhist paintings of Central Asia. The artist who transformed the type of the Bazodēv coins into these Sasanian Kushan coins, was a painter, educated in the tradition of Graeco-Bactrian art. And there can be little doubt that the coins of "*bage Vorohrane*", the king with the pearl-cap, are the nearest of all to the original, or perhaps the original itself.

The head is in strict profile, only a little too large. The beard of Vorohrane is pointed, like that of the king of the Ermitage silver dish, and of the best Sasanian seals. The beard of Ohromozde is cut round. The other heads display the distinctively Sasanian fashion of drawing the point of the beard through a narrow ring, a fashion appearing at first on the sculpture of Ardashīr I. at Firuzābād, and regularly on the sculptures and coins of Shāpūr I., Hormizd I.,—not Varhrān I.—but again with Varhrān II; and all the following kings up to Yazdkirt I. The hair of Vorohrane is arranged in parallel plaits, like that of Varhrān I., and, before him, of Ardashīr I. and Narseh. The same coiffure is worn by the other Vorohrane with the ram's horns, by the king with the crescent, and by the last Vorohrane with the zigzagged crown. It becomes rare among the Sasanids after Varhrān I.; for the coiffure chosen by Shāpūr I., the bushy curls, replace it, as it does among the Kushan kings. One copper coin of Hormzde in my possession is exceptional in showing this king with the plaits; the same change appears among the coins and sculptures of Narseh. The coins of Ohromozde exhibit their inferiority to those of Vorohrane mainly in the head on the obverse, which on these coins is encircled by a halo. The coins of the third king Hormzde have lost the bending of the hip, and though the whole figure has become more slim and elegant, it is noticeable that it is copied from the Ohromozde coins.

These slight differences in style and attributes are much more pronounced on the reverses. On the coins of Vorohrane Śiva's head is in three-quarter profile, and the upper part of the body is covered by a transparent garment that discloses the naturalistic modelling of the muscles; the bull, too, is designed in

the same style. The devices of both sides stand on a base line. Already on the coins of Ohromozde, the head, which is provided with a halo, begins to turn from the three-quarter profile to full front-view, the muscles of the body are exaggerated and at the same time treated in an abridged manner. The change is much more marked on the coins of Hormzde; the three-quarter profile is entirely abandoned, the figure of the god becomes very slim, no muscles are shown through the thick garment, every detail is reduced to conventional, abridged forms, and there is no feeling for spatial depth. It is the same with the bull. The Greek tradition is quickly vanishing. The halo assumes sometimes the shape of two large ears, the face resembles that of prehistoric idols, and the base-line disappears.

The fire-altar does not change its pre-Sasanian type. The flames on the coins of the first Vorohrane are like a scroll-work, rising on both sides of the hand; on the coins of Ohromozde and Hormzde on one side only. On the later coins they reappear on both sides, but in a clumsy fashion. The first coins show over the fire a trident, ending in a small crescent, and with two appendages. The swastika and one dot stand between the legs; three dots, the *chintâmani*, under the arm-pit; the *tri-ratna* combined with the *dharma-chakra*, to the right. The coins of the two Hormizds have the same symbols. The three later kings have a similar trident, the appendages resembling the snakes on the wand of Asklepios. The swastikas have disappeared; the *chintâmani* looks like part of the armour, or of the hilt of the sword; instead of the *tri-ratna* symbol there is another one, *viz.* that of the Nicolo seal which enters into the great number of Sasanian monograms, sometimes with the addition of a six-rayed star or other emblems. Thus, the symbols in the field of the reverses clearly separate the two groups of these gold-coins.

In the general style of the two subsidiary groups the change is complete. Whereas in the first much of the ground is left free, the later coins have the whole surface filled. The figures of god and king have become broad and short, the head unduly large. Thus the style of the devices and the style of the script are in close agreement.

I now come to two peculiarities that persist throughout this series and must be explained without reference to the arrangement of the coins. The first is that flames protrude invariably from the shoulders of the king; the second, that the top-hair of the god is invariably standing on end. The flames from the shoulders are a symbol foreign to Sasanian art. On the imperial series of coins the only exception is Valaghsh, who at the same time adopts the palmettes below the bust, obligatory on the Hephthalite coins. But all his successors attach a pair of small crescents to their shoulders. The attaching of symbols to the shoulders therefore begins only with the third period of Sasanian art. On the other hand, it is quite common on the Great Kushan coins. Ooemokadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Bazodêv all have the shoulder flames, and the last two add thereto the halo. The rayed halo of Mihrô encircles shoulders as well as head, the crescent of Mao rises

from the shoulders, the flames of Athsho protrude behind the upper arms, shoulder and head. This is the old Oriental, the Sumerian way of adding divine attributes to figures, and we must suppose that Graeco-Bactrian art has here revived a feature long forgotten in the West. The meaning of the flames is quite clear; they symbolize the *Erân-χvarréh*, the Iranian glory, and to prove it, the best specimens of coins representing the god *χvarréh*, in Kushan *Farro*, give him the same flames. In Buddhist art we find the same symbol given to Buddha when represented preaching, and sometimes to meditating monks and faqirs.

The other feature, the bristling top-hair, belongs to Siva. It is his peculiar characteristic already on the Great Kushan coins. In Buddhist art it is the attribute of malevolent gods or demons, some of whom also have the trident, *e.g.*, Mahâkâla, Garudas and Vajrapânis. It symbolizes the terrifying aspect of Siva.

Before proceeding to discuss the historical evidence for or against my arrangement of these coins, I must here add some remarks about the device on the copper issues.

On a unique copper specimen in my possession, which I attribute to Shâpûr I, the Reverse reproduces that of the cup-shaped aurei (Fig. 20)

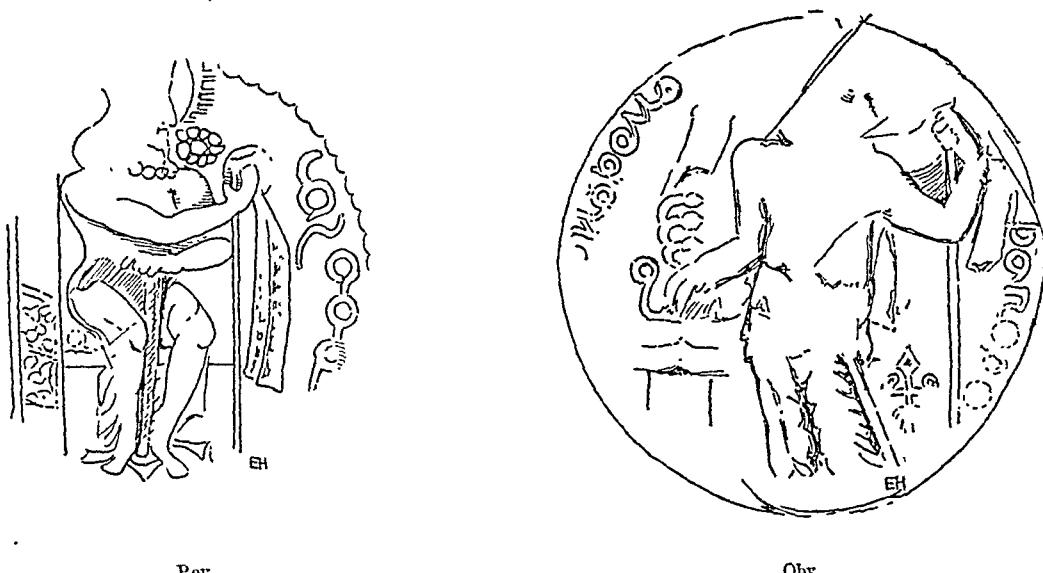


FIG. 20.—Coin No. 2 : Shâpûr Kûshânshâh.

The obverse shows a god on the throne. It is a god and not the king himself; for he holds the Sasanian corona with the long ribbons in his hand,—a well-known subject often repeated in Sasanian sculptures—and it is the prerogative of the god to hold and to bestow on the king this symbol of royalty, which became the coat-of-arms of Shâpûr I. Besides, the god has the rayed halo, the attribute of Mithra, on the Great Kushan coins and on the Sasanian sculptures. Hence, we must call the seated god Mithra. Next come four coins, two of them in the British Museum,

two in my own possession, of which the obverse shows the bust of the same king (*cf.* fig. 16) the reverse (fig. 21) a god enthroned under a dais. Again it is a god, notwithstanding that the device almost exactly reproduces the great sculpture of Shāpūr I. at Shāpūr, and that the god wears the same crown as the king; but he has the square long beard, and the plaited hair, never met with on the sculptures and coins of Shāpūr, or on the obverse of the coins in question, while both features belong to the god Hormizd on the sculptures of Ardashīr I., and Shāpūr I. And it is the crown of the god Hormizd, with the three large pinnacles, the turreted or mural crown, that had been adopted by Ardashīr I. and Shāpūr I., and that constituted the main part of almost all the later Sasanian crowns. And, once more, the god holds the corona in the right hand. Hence we must call him Hormuzd.

The famous silver drachm of Pērōz, of the Marw class, shows on the reverse the king adoring before a seated god (fig. 22). It is a non-Sasanian type, derived from the representation of Zeus enthroned, as on the Graeco-Bactrian coins of Antialcidas and Hermaeus, the Saka coins of Maues, Spalirises, Azilises and Gondofares, a device which under Kanishka had assumed the signification of the Indian moon-god Manaobago. On the coin of Pērōz, the god still clearly preserves the Zeus-type, but his only attribute are the flames that protrude, as on the older coins with Athsho on the reverse, from the upper arms, shoulders and behind the head of the god.

FIG. 22.—Pērōz I adoring before Buddha.

In Buddhist art, these flames are the attribute of Buddha, *cf.* Grüawedel *Altbuddhist. Kultstätten in Chines. Turkestan*, figs. 339-44 and 351-54 from Ming-Oi, portraying the Buddha preaching, with the shoulder flames combined with the round halo behind the head, and the oval halo behind the whole body, and figs. 620 and 621 from Murtuq, which are much more Chinese in style. These flames are, as a matter of fact, the origin of that oval halo behind the Buddha of which there are numberless examples, and which in certain representations preserves the flame motif down to the latest period.

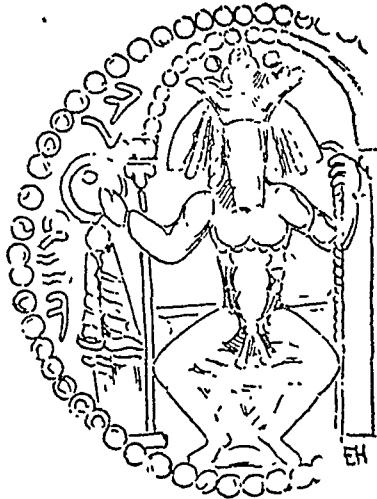


FIG. 21.—Coin No. 3b.

part of almost all the later Sasanian crowns. And, once more, the god holds the corona in the right hand. Hence we must call him Hormuzd.



In spite of his Greek appearance, the seated Zeus is meant to represent Buddha, in accordance with the legend, which, correcting my former reading, is to be read:

𐭃𐭅𐭂𐭅𐭂, *Bulda yazde*, "Buddha the god." The *z* of *yazde* is written in a reverse direction, as often on coins, but it is a *z* and not a *n*, and *l* replaces the first *d*, as is clear from the good impressions the British Museum was kind enough to send me, and from a repeated study of the originals. This change of *d* into *l* supports my reading; for it is the regular change in the East-Iranian dialects. Thus, we have ΛΡΟΟΑΣΠΙΟ from *Druwāsp*, and *Balakhshān* from *Badakhshān*, and we may compare also, though it is not the name but only an appellation of the Buddha, the Sak. *gyastanu gyasta balya* (i.e., *yastānu yasta balza*).

The entire type of this *Pérôz* coin is repeated on another silver piece of *Hormizd vuzurg Kūshān Shāh* in the collection of the *Institut des Langues Orientales de St. Pétersbourg*, where Markoff—recognized only the first two letters of the word *MLKY*, and also on a small copper coin of the same king in the British Museum.

The normal reverse of the copper coins shows a special shape of fire-altar (fig. 23) with the royal ribbons, and,

instead of the flames, the upper part of the body of the god Hormuzd, holding in the left hand the long sceptre as on the coins which portray him enthroned, and in the right the Sasanian corona. The crown of the god is in no case preserved, but we should expect the mural crown. Lastly, there are

FIG. 23.—Fire-altar with full bust of Hormizd.
Coin No. 24a.

the coins with another fire-altar on the reverse, (fig. 24) known from the coins of Ardashir I., with the bust of Hormizd, without arms, appearing in the flames. Elsewhere I have explained that it is Hormizd and not, as it is quite arbitrarily called, a "farwar". These details, however, I may reserve for the catalogue of coins at the end of this article.

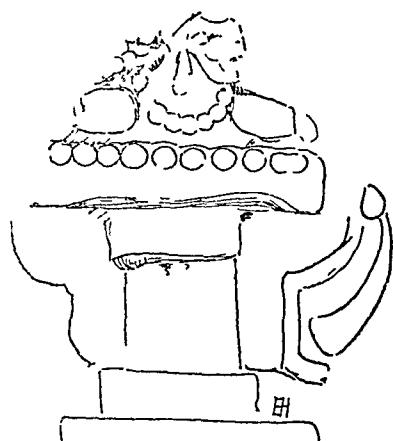


FIG. 24.—Fire-altar of Ardashir type, with bust. Coin No. 27.

After having thus examined the palaeographic and numismatic evidence of the coins, the task remains to collect the historical evidence we possess, and to see how far it agrees. For the quotation of the sources I may be

allowed to refer here to Chapter III of my *Paikuli*-book, and I shall take this opportunity of adding some corrections to the picture of the early history of the Sasanian empire which I tried to delineate there.

We do not know much about events in Eastern Iran during the 3rd century A.D. Ardashîr I (224-241 A.D.), after having established his rule in the West, is said to have made victorious campaigns against Sijistân and Gurgân, pursuing his conquests from there to Aparshahr (mod. Khorâsân) Marw, Balkh, Khwârizm and to the utmost limits of (ancient) Khorâsân. After the conquest he resided for a while in Marw, apparently to organize the administration of the newly conquered provinces, and returned from there to Ardashîr-khurrah, and after a last campaign on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, he took up his residence at Ctesiphon, appointing his son Shâpûr co-regent and successor even during his life-time. This account of Tabârî has been called in question, but without sufficient reason. To the various documents that confirm some of the details, I want to add here the true reading of the legend of a small official seal in the British Museum, which I failed to recognize in my *Paikuli*-book. The legend runs.

دَارِنِكَ عَنْ يَمَنِيَّةِ الْمَوْلَى مَوْلَى الْمَوْلَى دَارِنِكَ عَنْ يَمَنِيَّةِ الْمَوْلَى مَوْلَى الدَّارِنِكَ darînîk U
punyât artaxšatr dar hamârkâre "the accountant of the Government of Darînîk and Punyât-Ardashîr."

We must admire the extraordinary acumen of J. Markwart in having postulated this form of the name of al-Khatt from the deformed renderings of Syr. FNT, Arm. P'aniatršir, Arab. فَسَارُ , نَيْنَ , بَنْ and بُرَانْ. Darînîk is the island, called to-day Darîn, Punyât-Ardashîr the official name of the mainland of Bahraîn. The nomination of Shâpûr as co-regent is attested by the unique drachm of the British Museum, which gives to him the complete title of his father, but not yet the crown. This drachm of Shâpûr I. with the helmet ending in an eagle's head, must belong to the very last year of Ardashîr's reign, 240-1 A.D. Ardashîr had several sons and brothers who occupied certain provincial governorships.

Shâpûr I., 241-72, was crowned on the 20th of March, 242. On that very day his younger brother Pêrôz introduced to him the prophet Mâni, born in 215-6 in Irâq, and on the same day began Mâni's first public preaching in Ctesiphon. His preaching in the West must have begun before that time, and must have attracted the attention of Pêrôz there. The Pahlavî book on the "Towns of Irân" attributes the "foundation of Môsul," that is, the establishment of the Government of Nôt-Ardashîr, to a prince "Pêrôz e Shâhpûhrakân." We do not know of any such Pêrôz, and as the name of Mosul proves that the Government was established there by Ardashîr, the brother of Shâpûr is mistaken here for a son of Shâpûr, instead of Ardashîr. Then Pêrôz was the first Nôt-Ardašîrân-šâh, a title which had been mentioned in the Pahlavî *Ayînnâmak*, a kind of Iranian *Notitia Dignitatum*. He must have made the acquaintance of Mâni there. In 262 A.D., the Manichæans appear openly in Garamæa, a district of Mosul. As we know that Mâni

the Armenian Agathias, who used for his history a copy of the official documents in the royal archives, he restored not only peace in the East, as *ibn Qu'aiba* states, but he conquered the whole of Sakastān and made his son Varhrān III, *Sakānshāh*. It has always been the prerogative of the heir apparent to be governor of the latest conquest, the most important possession. Sakastān, including the whole North-West of India, became a more important province even than the Kūshān country, and we must expect to recognize this great change in the Kūshān coinage. This happened in 284 A.D., and we certainly must not look for Varhrān III. Sakānshāh among the Kūshān coins. A fact to be noted, but one which Noeldeke must have overlooked, is that the passage in *Agathias* excludes every doubt about Varhrān III. Sakānshāh being the son of Varhrān II., and not of Hormizd I.

After his father's death in 293, Varhrān III. succeeded, unwillingly, as we are told, but was dethroned after a reign of only four months by his grand-uncle Narseh, son of Shāpūr I. I have already mentioned the fact that the aurei attributed to Varhrān III. belong to Narseh, and possibly all the silver drachms likewise; at any rate I know of two of the latter, on which the name of Narseh is legible: one in London, one in Leningrad. On the other hand, these two coins of Narseh, like the third one in the Bartholomaei collection, belong to the Marw class, and, as they bear the full imperial titles, we must accept them as a proof that from Narseh's time onwards the governors of Kūshān had no longer the privilege of issuing gold coins. I feel much inclined to claim likewise the aureus of Varhrān II. in the British Museum for the Marw class, although its legend is not arranged in the same way as on the Kūshān coins, but because it has the symbol of the three dots, the *chintāmani* of the Kūshān coins, and because it presents a striking similarity to another coin of Varhrān II., an unusual silver denomination on which I read the word MLKY, *Shāhikān* on the altar shaft. Whether that be right or not, we should expect that the Kūshān governors lost the privilege of gold coining in the year 284, when the heir to the throne was appointed Sakānshāh, and no longer Kūshānshāh. From Narseh onwards, the gold coinage of Marw is issued in the name of the Shāhānshāh, and this continued probably under Hormizd II., though the evidence, the $\frac{1}{4}$ solidus of the Berlin cabinet, is not quite conclusive, and certainly under Shāpūr II., of whom we have a great number of gold coins with the mint-name *Shāhikān* and the full imperial title.

Narseh ruled from 293 to 302. In opposition to my former view, I must lay stress here upon the new fact, that the internal war of 293 did not lead to the loss of Sakastān. This great realm continued to form an integral part of Irān. For, of the two Pahlavī inscriptions of Persepolis that I had leisure to decipher in 1923, the first is written in the year 11 (?), i.e., 310-11, of Shāpūr II., by Shāpūr Sakānshāh, an elder brother of the infant

king, who has the titles *sakânsâh hində sakastân u tuzaristân dabirârâ dabir*, "king of Sakastân, minister of ministers of Sind, Sakastân and Tukharistân", and who is accompanied by the *sakastân andarzpet*, the "minister of Public Instruction of Sakastân", by the *zrang satrap*, the "satrap of Sistân" (in the modern meaning of the name) and other dignitaries. The second inscription is written by *Slôk*, *i.e.*, "Seleucus, high judge of Kabul", in the year 47 (?) of Shâpûr I.—the numbers are much obliterated who, according to this record, is paying his homage to Shâpûr Sakânshâh as his superior, showing that even Kabul belonged to the lands governed by the Sakânshâh at that time, and that the elder brother of the king ruled the country for an astonishingly long period. From these inscriptions it follows that Narseh must successfully have maintained all the Eastern possessions, notwithstanding his apparently unsuccessful policy, in the West.

Narseh's son was Hormizd II. (302-09). Nothing is known about the events in the East during his time, or about an Eastern career of Hormizd under Narseh. But if, as we have seen, Narseh maintained possession of Sakastân, Hormizd may have been governor of Sakastân, but not of the Kûshân realm. The attribution to him of any coins bearing the name of Hormizd is *a priori* improbable.

He died probably young, and according to the oriental tradition he left no heir when he died. As a matter of fact, Âdharnarseh, an elder brother of Shâpûr II., was the first successor of Hormizd, for a few weeks only, and as no New Year occurred during that time, his reign is not reckoned at all in the oriental lists. After his dethronement the dignitaries of the empire crowned the unborn king Shâpûr II. (309-379) putting into prison another elder brother Hormizd, who fled to Rome in 323 A.D. and in 363 accompanied Julian on his Persian campaign. We have already seen that another elder brother of the infant king was Shâpûr Sakânshâh. During the youth of Shâpûr II., "Turks and Romans" tried to appropriate Iranian territories. The name of the "Turks" is an anachronism; it means the Chionites. But until 356 the young king was able to maintain his heritage intact. In that year, we learn from Ammian that he was occupied "*in extremis regni limitibus*"; for the Chionites had invaded Bactria. This is the year of the inscription of *Slôk* at Persepolis, and the last passage of that inscription, the prayer that he might return safely to Kabul, sounds like a silent allusion to these events. In 358 Shâpûr II. was still in Bactria, and at last concluded an alliance with the Chionites, who from this time on represent the old Kûshân realm. This alliance is an acknowledgment of the changed political conditions, but by it the king succeeded in attaching the new invaders to his cause, and in 360 the Chionitae and Cuseni appear as his allies before the walls of Amida-Diyârbakr.

As the Chionites issued silver coins after the model of the drachms of Shâpûr II. but with legends in Greek Kûshân script, the year 358 marks the latest time limit for any Sasanian Kushan coin. Hence, the gold coins

of Shâpûr II. of the Marw class, and his copper coins of the Balkh class, must belong to the first part of his reign. Not only the aurei, but the copper coins also are issued in the name of the Shâhânshâh. All the coins, therefore, of the Sasanian governors or Kûshânshâhs must be older than Shâpûr II. And, as a general rule, we can infer from these historical investigations that the copper and silver coinage extends over the years 226 to 309, and that the gold coinage of the Balkh type is probably limited to the years 252 to 284, or 293.

Combining now the palaeographical, archaeological, and historical evidence, I propose the following arrangement of the Sasanian Kûshân coins:

1. Supposing that the drawing reproduced by H. H. Wilson in his *Ariana Antiqua* XVII, 12, is reliable, that coin, found at Beghrâm, with the bust of a king on the obverse, and a fire-altar of the Ardashîr type with bust in the flames on the reverse, with traces of a Kûshân legend, is the oldest of the whole series, to be dated ab. 230 A.D., because the crown of the king, although partly effaced, has exactly the outline of, and can only be understood as, the peculiarly shaped, mural crown found exclusively on the first sculptures of Ardashîr I. at Firûzâbâd and Naqsh-i-Rajab.

2. The copper coins which show on the Obv. the bust of a king with the mural crown, the pinnacles resembling palmettes, and on the Rev. the god Hormizd enthroned under a daïs, with a Kûshân legend probably containing the name *poropo* or *poθopo* and one unique aes with the Obv. of the cup-shaped aurei, and the god Mithra enthroned on the Rev., belong to Shâpûr son of Ardashîr I., before he became coregent, hence between 230 and 240 A.D.

3. The two drachms of the Marw class with the bust of Pérôz on the Obv., the king in adoration before Buddha on the Rev., and a few copper coins with the bust of the same king and with a fire-altar of the Ardashîr type on the Rev. (the legends in Pârsik are completely effaced) belong to Pérôz son of Ardashîr I., under Shâpûr's reign from 242 to 252, the year in which Shâpûr effected a radical change in the administration of Khorâsân.

4. The two aurei of the Ermitage and the British Museum, with the name *boγa Vorohranə*, the cap beset with two rows of pearls and surmounted by the flower-like globe, and two copper coins of the same king, with Pârsik legend, the bust of the king on the Obv., the fire-altar with the full bust of Hormizd on the Rev., belong to a Sasanian prince Varhrân, unknown to us, brother or cousin of Shâpûr I., ab. 252-255.

I have fully explained the reasons which induce me to consider these coins as the oldest and as the prototype of all the later aurei. And, although from the historical evidence I should much prefer not to insert any coins between those of Pérôz and Hormizd I., because I believe that the year 252 brought the change of the title from *vuzurg Kûshânshâh* to *vuzurg*

Kūšān šāhānšāh, I do not see any possibility of putting aside the numismatic evidence; the more so as the full title, which we find on several coins of the Marw class, appears only once among the whole number of the cup-shaped aurei, and the *argumentum ex silentio*, therefore, has no force. The other possibility, to which I have alluded above, *viz.*, of assigning these coins to Varhrān I. and regarding Varhrān as the elder brother of Hormizd, on the assumption that he might have preceded his brother in the government of Khorāsān, leads to numerous difficulties. For instance, one consequence would be, that we should have to assign the coins of the second Vorohrānē Kūshānshāh to Varhrān II., who can only have held the office under Varhrān I.'s reign (273-76), and whose coins are evidently later than those of Hormzde, who is inseparable from Ohromozdē, and who in this case ought to be dated later than the second Vorohrānē, *viz.*, under Varhrān II. (276-84). We have, in fact, to distribute the coins of three Varhrāns, and we have only two Shāhānshāhs of that name at our disposal, since Varhrān III. Sakānshāh must of course be left out. Hence, we are compelled to assume one unknown Varhrān, and although I consider this to be the weak point of my arrangement, I cannot see any serious objection against my assumption, and I prefer this arrangement to any other possible one; for, as we shall see, all the other conditions required by palaeographical, archaeological and historical evidence are fulfilled, while every other arrangement leads to many improbabilities.

5. The Balkh coins of Ohromozdē and the Marw coins of the same *bayā Ohmīzde vuzurg Kūšān šāhānšāh*, with the helmet ending in a lion's head surmounted by the globe, belong to Hormizd I. (ab. 255-264). The precise date is doubtful because there are no exact historical indications for these years, and they are only calculated according to the number of existing coins. I know and have studied 5 Balkh aurei, two aurei of Sasanian type, Marw class, one silver drachm of the Marw class with the bust of Hormizd on the Obv. and the king before Buddha on the Rev.,—this being the coin which is absolutely conclusive for the attribution to Hormizd I.,—one copper coin with the same devices and some others with the bust of the king on the Obv., and on the Rev. either Śiva and Nandi, or the fire-altar with the full bust of Hormizd. The coins with the bust and with Śiva and Nandi are bilingual.

6. The cup-shaped aurei of Hormzde, with the same helmet but without the globe, without diadem, and without the word *bayā* in the legend, belong to another governor, who succeeded Hormizd I., and whose existence we have postulated on account of the flight of Mānī from Khorāsān; it must have been he who persecuted Manichaeism by order of Shāpūr I. The date of the coins would be approximately the last decade of Shāpūr's reign (264-272).

7. The king Vorohrānē with the ram's horns is Varhrān I., under his brother's reign (272-3). We have only three cup-shaped aurei and three aes with his bust on the Obv., and the altar with the full bust of Hormizd

on the Rev. One drachm of the imperial series gives him, besides the imperial titles, the surname *vuzurg Kūšān*. To him belongs also the silver dish of the Ermitage with the monogram (fig. 11), and the title *Marwkhvatāy*.

8. The unique aureus of the king with the zigzagged cap, imitating the coins of the first Vorohrānā, and the three specimens of the king with the illegible legend and the crown of palmettes, belong to the period of Varhrān I (273-276). We must identify this third Vorohrānā with Varhrān II. The numismatic evidence is not clear enough to allow us to say which one of the two preceded the other.

9. The copper coins with Pārsik legends in the name of Ohrmizdā, showing on the Obv. the bust with a crown to which a pair of wings and a striped globe are attached, on the Rev. the full bust of Hormizd on the altar, I ascribe to Ormies-Hormizd, brother of Varhrān II, whose rebellion was crushed in the year 284. To him I am much inclined to ascribe the unique aureus of the Marw class in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. There are no more aurei from this year onwards, because the privilege of coining gold, came to an end when, after the conquest of Sakastān the heir to the crown ceased to be Kūshānshāh. The defeat of Ormies and the conquest of Sakastān mark a date even more important for the history of the Kushān kingdom than the year 252.

10. The few remaining copper coins all belong to the period between 284 and 309. Their general style corresponds perfectly with the style of the imperial coins and sculptures of those years. Without means of distributing the remaining three types other than their general style, I should consider the unique aes in my possession, with a crown consisting of 5 large leaves as the first of the group, to be dated under Varhrān II (284-93). Another coin published in *Ariana Antiqua* XVII, 15, seems to be the second in the group, to be dated under Narseh (294-302), and the coins of a king Pērōz, whom we may now call Pērōz II., with the crescent and the globe over a cap, may belong to the reign of Hormizd II (302-09). One copper coin in the Calcutta Museum, attributed to Shāpūr III. by V. Smith, belongs either to the same Pērōz II., or is a fourth type of the same group. And, as the years 284-309 are rather a long space of time for the few types of copper coins, we may expect that other types will turn up in the future. The Rev. of these coins shows the altar either with the full bust of Hormizd, or with a bust appearing in the flames. The more interesting devices of the period seen on the cup-shaped aurei have disappeared.

11. Narseh and probably Hormizd II. had already issued gold coins of the Marw class under their own names, contemporary with the copper coinage of their governors. Shāpūr II not only coined his own aurei, but under his reign the copper coins of the governors likewise ceased. Besides a considerable number of his aurei of the Marw class, we possess a number of copper coins, belonging to him, with the simple Kūshān legend *Shoboro*, and with the fire-altar of the Ardashīr type on the Rev., the altar

which is also found on half of his imperial coins. One aes, published by Bartholomaei-Dorn (VII, 8) merits special attention; for it reproduces exactly the copper coins with Kûshân legends, but the legends are arranged like those on the Marw coins in Pârsik.

12. To the description of the Sasanian Kûshân coins I add three Chionite drachms imitating the coins of Shâpûr II's middle period, but with the symbol χ and with Kûshân legends, and moreover some rare later imitations of imperial Sasanian coins of Varhrân IV, and Varhrân V, which are clearly distinguishable from their prototypes, and display a remarkable similarity among themselves as well as with the Chionite imitations of the coins of Shâpûr II. The two coins of Varhrân V bear the mint-name MLKY: Marw é Shâhikân.

This memoir was written in 1926. Since then a paper by Georges Batailles, 'Notes sur la numismatique des Koushans et des Koushan-shahs Sasanides' has been published in *Arethusa*, 1928 fasc. 18. Among the coins described and which have been presented by M. Hackin to the Cabinet des Médailles, there is pl. III 9 one unknown aureus of Hormizd, pl. III 11 a very fine specimen of Hormizde Great Kûshân Shâhânsâh, n. 9 d of our catalogue with Kûshân insr. 8; a second specimen of our n. 12 AE Hormizd adoring Buddha on pl. III 13; duplicates of our aurei 7, 21, and 22; and two more AE of Pêrûz II with the crescent. The classification of the new coin III 9 is difficult. But there is nothing that would require a change in our arrangement. I may add, that I purchased another specimen of the aureus 9 with the mint-name Balkh, found in NW Persia near Ardebil. Also a second specimen of the unique drachme of Mithradates mentioned on p. 5, fig. 1, showing little more of the fourth letter of the word ΑΙΟC, with great probability error for ΥΙΟC.

R. Vasmer, in *Num. Chron.* Fifth Ser. vol. VIII 'Sassanian Coins in the Ermitage' has set forth the view that the coins until then attributed to Varhrân III, as a matter of fact belong to his successor Narseh, a view which is perfectly convincing. The sculpture of Naqshi Rustam, which for a certain time I felt inclined to attribute to Varhrân III belongs also to Narseh.

Table II.—Pārsīk legends.

AND POSSIBLY SAMARKAND.

SCRIPT AND LANGUAGE.

DEVICES OF

Aes.

	Obv. bust. Rev. king adoring Buddha.	Obv. bust. Rev. Hormizd on throne und. dais.	Obv. bust. Rev. fire altar with full bust of Hor- mizd.	Obv. bust. Rev. fire altar with small bust in flames or with flames
Period of Ardashir I, a
Shapur I under Ardash	no. 3 a & b : author. c & d : Brit. Museum.	.....	.....
Peroz I under Shapur	no. 6 a : author. b : Parruck. c : Mus Gui- met, Paris ; legend lost.
Bage Vorohrane under	no. 8 a : Brit. Mus. b : Cunning- ham.	.....
Hormizd I under Shapu	12 : Brit. Museum ; unique.	.....	no. 14 a & b : Brit. Mus. c : Calcutta.	.....
Hormzde under Shapur	no. 17a-f : author. g & h : Ariana Ant. i : Cunning- ham. l : Parruck.	.....
Varhran I under Hormi	no. 19 a & c : Brit. Mus. b : Cunning- ham.	.....
Varhran II under Varhr
Bage M. under Varhran
Hormuzd-Ormies under	no. 24 a : author. b : As. Soc. Ben- gal. c & d : Brit. Mus. e : Calcutta.	.....
Nameless governor und Shahanshah, 276-93.	no. 27 : author; unique.
Nameless governor unde
Peroz II under Hormizo	no. 31 a : author. b-d : Brit. Mus.	.....
Shapur II Shahanshah,	no. 32 : Calcutta, very similar.	no. 35 : Bartholom. Dorn ; without bust in flames.
Chionite imitation of Sh
Zabul imitation of Varh
Marw coinage of V

No.	Metal, Weight and Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	References.
Peroz I, son of Ardashir, under Shapur I, 242-252 A. D.				
5	AR 63 grs. 0.97 inch.	Bust of king to right; crown in shape of fluted cornice, with row of large pearls above, diadem with floating ends below; bushy hair, ear-ring, necklace; bust ends in three curves. Grenetis. Pārsik legend begins at left shoulder No. 8.	Same king standing in adoration before Buddha on throne. King in Sasanian loose garment, with sword at left and dagger at right; right hand pointing towards small fire-altar in shape of hour-glass; left hand raised in adoration. God on throne, head and body in profile, knees parted, upper part of body seems naked; long sceptre in left, right hand on arm-rest of throne; throne seen partly in profile, according to Hellenistic perspective. Grenetis. Pārsik legend No. 8.	B. M., two specimens from same die; Drouin <i>Revue Numismatique</i> 1895, 111, 13, p. 60 sq. Pl. II, n. 12, Herzfeld, <i>Paitaki</i> , Pl. A, fig. 18, p. 44 s. Fig. 14 (text), Pl. I.
6	AE a: 52 grs. b: 56 grs.	Bust of king to right, crown similar to that of Peroz, No. 5; diadem with floating ends, bushy hair, point of beard drawn through ring, ear-ring, necklace. Grenetis. Legend lost.	Below base-line, crescent. Fire-altar of Ardashir type, with traces of bust in flames.	a: In possession of author, unpublished. Pl. I. b: Parruck <i>Sasanian Coins</i> XII, 274. Third specimen, Hackin; <i>Musée Guimet</i> . Unpublished.
Bagae Vorohrane, under Shapur I, about 252-(256) A. D.				
7	AI Cup-shaped.	Full length figure of king with cap adorned with two rows of pearls, surmounted by flower-like globe; diadem at lower edge, hair in plaits, long pointed beard; body in full armour; holding trident in left, right hand pointing down towards small fire-altar, probably holding ring; flames protrude from shoulders, ribbons at ankles. Flames of altar like scroll-work. Trident with 3 appendages and crescent on top over altar; combined <i>triratna</i> and <i>dharma-chakra</i> symbol to right; swastika and dot between feet; three dots, <i>chintāmani</i> , under left arm-pit. Base line. Kūshān legend Nos. 3 and 4; in second line, mint name Balkh.	Śiva standing before bull Nandi, on base line. God in Sasanian garment, with Sasanian diadem; top-hair standing on end; head $\frac{3}{4}$ profile; trident in left, noose in right hand. Grenetis. Kūshān legend, Nos. 3 and 4, and below base Greek legend Nos. 3 and 4.	a: B. M., Cunningham. <i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> ser. 111, vol. XIII, Pl. IV, 12. Fig. 6 (text). b, Ermitage, unpublished. Pl. I.

No.	Metal, Weight and Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	References.
Bagæ Vorohrane, under Shapur I, about 252-(256) A. D.—contd.				
8 b :	Æ 29 grs. 0.60 in.	Bust of king to right; crown same as 7, hair in plaits, point of beard drawn through ring; ear-ring, necklace. Pārsik legend begins at left shoulder. a : No. 9 ; b : No. 10.	Fire-altar, adorned with ribbons, with full bust of Hormizd, holding in left long sceptre, in right corona with fillet. Pārsik legend No. 9.	a : B. M. cast. Pl. I. b : Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , p. 182, 14.
Hormizzd I under Shapur I, about (256)-264, A. D.				
9	Æ Cup- shaped.	Same as 7, but helmet ending in lion's head, surmounted by flower-like globe; hair bushy, point of beard drawn through ring, halo around head. Trident over altar without crescent; to right, <i>triratna</i> , sometimes with swastika. Kūshān legend Nos. 5-7. In second line, name of mint town Balkh. d : Legend No. 8.	Same as 7, but halo around head of Śiva; no Sasanian fillets; head of Śiva in full front view. Legend Nos. 5-8.	a : & b : Berlin Cabinet, Herzfeld, <i>Paikuli</i> , Pl. A 21 and 22, pp. 48-49. Fig. 7 (text). Pl. II, c : Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , p. 178 No. 3, description not corresponding to fig. Pl. IV, 3. d : Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , p. 179 No. 4, inscription Pl. V, H. e : Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , p. 179, No. 5, same but smaller coin; lost.
10	Æ	Bust of king to right with helmet bending forward and ending in lion's head. Crest formed by lion's mane, surmounted by flower-like globe; small diadem under globe, other at lower edge of helmet; curly hair; point of beard drawn through ring; ear-ring, necklace—bust ends in four curves. Pārsik legend No. 11.	Fire-altar adorned with Sasanian fillets; left, same king adoring, right hand raised, left on hilt of dagger, broad fillets behind back; right, Mithra with sun rays around head, right hand raised holding corona, left hand on sword. Pārsik legend same as on Obverse; king's name in middle above, in 2nd line over altar name of mint town, "Shāhikān" = Marw.	B. M., second specimen Cunningham-Thomas, <i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> , 1852, XV, p. 180; <i>Indian Antiquary</i> 11, p. 165; Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , Pl. IV, 2; Mordtmann, ZDMG VIII, 1856, Pl. V, 5 and No. 26; ZDMG XIX 1865, p. 421; XXXIV p. 26; B. Drouin <i>Revue Archéologique</i> 1898, 1 p. 25; Herzfeld <i>Paikuli</i> , Pl. A. Fig. 7 (text). Pl. II.

No.	Metal, Weight and Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	References.
Hormizd I under Shapur I, about (256)-264, A. D. —contd.				
11	AR	Bust of king to right, same as 10. Pārsik legend beginning at left shoulder, No. 11.	Same as 5. Pārsik legend No. 11; above altar name of mint town: Marw.	Dorn, <i>Bemerkungen Über Sasaniden Münzen</i> , St. Petersburg, 1844; Mordtmann <i>ZDMG</i> , 1880, XXXIV, p. 27, No. 77; Markoff <i>Cat. des monn. Sas. etc. de l'Inst. des Lang. Or. St. Petersburg</i> , 1889, p. 60, n, 21; Drouin, <i>Revue Archéologique</i> 1898, p. 26.
12	Æ	Bust of king same as 10. Pārsik legend beginning at left shoulder No. 12.	Same as 5 and 11.	B. M., Thomas, <i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> , XV, p. 180, No. 9.
13	Æ	Same as foregoing. Pārsik legend a : and b : No. 12; c : No. 13, and possibly No. 14. Cf. Thomas <i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> XV, p. 182, fig. 8; Prinsep's <i>Indian Antiquities</i> II, 165; <i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> series II, Vol. XII, 38.	Siva standing before Nandi bull, as 7 and 9. Kūshān legend No. 20.	a : & b : Two specimens in possession of author, Pl. II. c : B. M., Thomas <i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> , XV, p. 180, No. 11; Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , Pl. IV, 6.
14	Æ	Same bust as foregoing. Pārsik legend No. 15.	Fire-altar with full bust like 8.	a : B. M.; Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , Pl. IV, 7; Pl. II. b : Calcutta, Vincent Smith, <i>Indian Museum Catalogue</i> I, p. 223, No. 1, Pl. XXIV, 3. c : Thomas <i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> , XV, p. 180, 10.

No.	Metal, Weight and Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	References.
Hormizd under Shapur I, about (264)-272.				
15	Æ Cup- shaped.	Like 7 and 9, but helmet without surmounting globe; crest of large pearls, one dot to right of altar, swastika, and one dot between feet; indistinct other symbol between left leg and sword; halo cuts through legend. Kūshān legend Nos. 9-14.	Same as 7 and 9, but garment of Siva changed; head of bul in full front view; no base line. Kūshān legend faulty, Nos. 9-14.	<i>a</i> : & <i>b</i> : Ermitage unpublished. Pl. II. <i>c</i> : and <i>d</i> : Berlin Herzfeld <i>Pai-kuli</i> Pl. A. Fig. 8 (text). Pl. II. <i>e</i> : <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , XIV, 17, p. 379, 5. From Kabul Valley. Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , Pl. V, E. <i>f</i> : B. M., Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , Pl. IV, 3 and V, E. Cunningham's description does not agree with figure on his Plate.
16	Æ <i>a</i> : 44 grs. 0.5 in. <i>b</i> : 23 grs. in bad condition.	King standing to left with helmet ending in lion's head; no globe, no diadem, plaited hair, point of beard drawn through ring, full armour. Left hand holding trident, right hand pointing towards small fire-altar without flames: trident with 2 appendages over altar; swastika and one dot between legs; <i>chintāmani</i> near hilt of sword; <i>triratna</i> and circle to right. Kūshān legend No. 21.	Siva and Nandi as on 7, 9 and 15, but god full front view; garment like 15; trident in left, noose in right hand. Kūshān legend No. 21.	<i>a</i> : and <i>b</i> : In possession of author, unpublished. Pl. III. <i>c</i> : and <i>d</i> : Ermitage casts, unpublished. Pl. III. The two Ermitage specimens are not exactly identical: bushy hair and diadem with fillets.
17	Æ <i>a</i> : 55 grs. and to <i>f</i> : about 0.7 inches.	Bust of same king to right, with helmet ending in lion's head; no globe, no diadem. Pārsik legend No. 12. Cunningham's description not exact: "with plume" instead of "without globe." Sometimes the symbol of Gondofares and of Shapur I on shaft of altar.	Fire-altar, Ardashir type with bust, same as 1 and 6; no legend.	<i>a</i> : <i>f</i> : In possession of author, Pl. III. <i>g</i> : and <i>h</i> : <i>Arriana Antiqua</i> Pl. XVII, 16 and 19, from Beghrām. <i>i</i> : Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , Pl. IV, 8. <i>k</i> : Parry, <i>Sasanian Coins</i> , 18 ^o

No.	Metal, Weight and Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	References.
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Varhran I, under Hormizd I, 272-73.

18	A/ a : Cup- b : shaped c : 121 grs. 1.3 inch.	Same as 7, 9 and 15, but crown consisting of a pair of ram's horns over a string of pearls surmounted by flower-like globe; diadem below, halo, hair in plaits, beard drawn through ring.—Trident over altar resembling Asklepius' wand; <i>chintāmani</i> below arm, no symbol between feet; to right monogram $\Sigma\Gamma$ above it, swastika or eight rayed star. Kūshān legend Nos. 15-17. On base, mint town Balkh.	Same as 7, 9, 15, with base line; Kūshān legend Nos. 15-17.	a : Ermitage, unpublished, cast. Fig. 9 (text). Pl. III. b : Berlin, Herzfeld, <i>Paikuli</i> Pl. A. Fig. 9 (text). Pl. III. c : B. M., Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , Pl. IV, 15.
19	A/ a : b : c : 16. Pl. III.	Bust of same king to right. Pārsik legend begins at left shoulder, Nos. 16 and 17.	Fire-altar with full bust, same as 8 and 14. Pārsik legend No. 14.	a : B. M., Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , Pl. IV, 16. Pl. III. b : Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , Pl. IV, 17. c : B. M., cast, unpublished, Pl. III.

Varhran I. Shahanshah 272-73.

20	A/ a : b : c : 16. Pl. III.	Bust of King to right; crown with sunrays of Mithra surmounted by large globe; ears and cheek covered, hairs in plaits, point of beard drawn through ring. Pārsik legend begins behind head of King No. 18. Cf. a piece in the Berlin Cabinet with same arrangement of legend in two lines.	Fire-altar of the type of Shapur I; to the left, same king with long sceptre and sword; to the right male figure with same attributes but different crown (god), both looking outward. Pārsik legend No. 19.	Formerly in the cabinet of Subhi Pasha, Constantinople, Mordtmann, ZDMG 1880, XXXIV, p. 30, No. 82.
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Varhran II under Varhran I, 273-(275).

21	A/ a : b : c : 16. Pl. III.	Like 7, 9, 15, 18, but crown consists of cap with zigzag, surmounted by flower-like globe; diadem, no halo, <i>chintāmani</i> under arm; to right same symbol as on 18: above six-rayed star. Kūshān legend No. 18.	Same as 18, double struck .	Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , Pl. IV, 13. Fig. 12 (text).
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No.	Metal, Weight and Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	References.
Bage M....., under Varhran I, (275)-276.				
22	AE Cup- shaped.	Same as 21, but crown of three large palmettes, surmounted by fluted globe with large fillets ; <i>chintāmani</i> under arm ; to right, symbol of 18 and 21 over eight-rayed star or over hook, and once an indistinct symbol above it. Kūshān legend No. 19.	Same as 21, double struck	<p><i>a</i> : Berlin, Herzfel Paikuli, Pl. A. Fig. 13, Pl. III.</p> <p><i>b</i> : and <i>c</i> : Ermitage, casts, unpublished. Pl. IV.</p>
....rahran : Foreign imitation.				
23	AR 65 grs. 1.25 inch.	Bust of king to right, crown same as 22, bushy hair, point of beard drawn through ring; ear-ring, necklace; bust below necklace formed by leaves of palmettes. Pārsik legend begins at left shoulder, No. 20. <i>Cf.</i> the palmettes below the busts of the Hephthalites, Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , Pl. VII, 3, 4, 5, 14, 15; Pl. VIII, 3, 14; Pl. IX, etc.	Fire-altar of Sasanian type; right and left, attendants in peculiar attire, holding balsom wands.	Calcutta, Vincent Smith, <i>Indian Museum Catalogue</i> , 1, p. 226, No. 2, Pl. XXIV, fig. 8.
Ormies-Hormizz under Varhran II, 276-84.				
24 <i>a</i> : <i>c</i> : <i>e</i> :	AE 34 grs. 0.6 inch. 33.3 grs. 31.8 grs.	Bust of king to right; crown consists of : cap with five large pearls and diadem at lower edge, to which are attached two eagle's wings surmounted by a striped globe. Bushy hair, point of beard drawn through ring; ear-ring, necklace. Bust ends in four lobes. Pārsik legend begins at left shoulder, No. 21.	Fire-altar with full bust, same as 8, 14, 19. Pārsik legend No. 21.	<p><i>a</i> : In possession of author, unpublished. Figs. 17 and 22 (text). Pl. IV.</p> <p><i>b</i> : Museum of Asiatic Society of Bengal; E. Thomas <i>Nu-mismatic and other Antiquities illustrative of the rule of the Sasanians</i>, 1841 No. 404=Mordtmann ZDMG, 1880, XXXIV, p. 2, No. 79.</p> <p><i>c</i> : and <i>d</i> : B. M., casts.</p> <p><i>e</i> : Calcutta, Vincent Smith, <i>Indian Museum Catalogue</i>, 1, p. 223, No. 2, Pl. XXIV, fig. 4.</p>

No.	Metal, Weight and Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	References.
Ormies-Hormizd under Varhran II, 276-84—contd.				
25	AI 115.7 grs. 0.8 inch.	Bust of king to right; crown consists of row of pearls with pair of wings, no globe, but perhaps floating end of diadem on top of head; bushy hair, point of beard drawn through ring; earring; neck-lace; garment richly adorned with pearls. Legend illegible on Parruck's Plate, begins at left shoulder.	Fire-altar with bust of Hormizd without flames; two attendants with barsom; no legend. This coin is mentioned here only for comparison.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. M. Dieulafoy, <i>L'art Antique de la Perse</i> , Pl. II, 7.
Varhran II, Shahanshah, 276-293.				
26	AI 113.5 grs. 0.75 inch.	Bust of king to right; pure Sasanian type. Legend begins behind king's head.	Fire-altar, pure Sasanian type; king to left, god to right; <i>chintāmani</i> on shaft of altar.	B. M., Parruck, <i>Sasanian Coins</i> , VI, No. 115.
Nameless Governor under Varhran II, 284-293.				
27	AE 6.5 grs. 0.7 inch.	Bust of king to right; crown of five large leaves over diadem at lower edge, no globe; bushy hair, point of beard drawn through ring; earring. Legend lost.	Fire-altar of Ardashir type with Sasanian fillets and bust of Hormizd with earring and necklace. Similar to 1, 6, 17.	In possession of author, unique, unpublished. Figs. 15 and 23 (text). Pl. IV.
Narseh Shahanshah, 293-302.				
(a)	AI	Normal type of Narseh, crown surmounted by 3 large palmettes, hair in straight plaits. Normal Pārsik legend of Narseh No. 22.	High fire-altar of type of Hormizd Kushanshah No. 10; between head of adoring king (left) and fire, the corona with fillets, symbol of Ardashir I; between fire and head of god Hormizd (right), the word MLKY-Marw.	In 1880 at H. Hofmann, Numismatist, in Paris; Mordtmann, ZDMG., 1880, XXXIV, p. 43, No. 138.
	AI	Bust of king to right, crown with 10 leaves, diadem at lower edge, surmounted by large globe; small fillet below globe; bushy hair, point of beard drawn through ring. Pārsik legend begins at left shoulder, No. 23.	Fire-altar of type of Hormizd Kushanshah 10; to left the king standing with barsom, to right god Hormizd also with barsom. Pārsik legend No. 23.	Berlin, cast, Nützel, Amtl. Berlin a. d. Kgl. Kunstsamm'lgn. 1907-08, p. 212 sq.
(c)	AI 111.2 grs. 0.75 inch.	Almost same as 28b. Parruck's reading of legend is not supported by his Plate. The word <i>bage</i> is clearly visible at same place where it stands on Berlin specimen, so are the first two letters of the name.	Same as preceding. No legend.	B. M., Parruck, <i>Sasanian Coins</i> , No. 161.

No.	Metal, Weight and Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	References.
Nameless Governor under Narseh, 293-302.				
29	Æ	Bust of king to right; crown of seven lobes surmounted by five scrolls, diadem at lower edge, no globe. Bushy hair, ear-ring, necklace. Traces of Kūshān legend No. 22.	Fire-altar of Ardashir type with Sasanian fillets and beardless head appearing in flames with crescent behind shoulders and perhaps on top of head; traces of Kūshān legend No. 22.	Wilson <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , XVII, 15, p. 403, No. 39, from Begh ram.
Hormizd II Shahanshah, 302-309.				
30	A/ Solidus. 22.7 grs. 0.6 inch.	Bust of king to right; crown, normal shape of Hormizd II. Legend illegible.	Fire-altar with two attendants, normal Sasanian type. No legend.	Berlin, Nützel, Amtl. Ber. a.d. Kgl. Kunstsamm lgn. XXXIV, 3 Dec. 1912, p. 4, No. 1.
Peroz II under Hormizd II, 302-309.				
31	Æ	Bust of king to right; crown of fluted cap surmounted by large crescent and striped globe diadem below; hair in plaits, point of beard drawn through ring; ear-ring, necklace.	Fire-altar with full bust of Hormizd, same as 8, 14, 19, 25.	<i>a</i> : In possession of author, unpublished. Fig. 18 (text), Pl. IV.
<i>a</i> :	29 grs. 0.57 inch.		Pārsik legend Nos. 24 and 25.	<i>b</i> : Parruck, <i>Sasanian Coins</i> , Pl. IX, 191.
<i>b</i> :	35.7 grs.			<i>c</i> : Parruck, <i>Sasanian Coins</i> , 193, cast, Pl. IV.
<i>c</i> :	31.5 grs.			<i>d</i> : B. M.
<i>d</i> :	23.1 grs.	Pārsik legend begins at left shoulder, Nos. 24 and 25.		Calcutta, Vincent Smith. <i>Indian Museum Catalogue</i> , p. 225, No. 3, Pl. XXIV, Fig. 7.
32	Æ	Very similar to 31	Same, but so-called "taurus" symbol on shaft of altar: symbol of Gondofares and of Shapur I.	
Shapur II Shahanshah, 309-356.				
33a:	A/ 111 grs.	Bust of Shapur II to right; mural crown adorned with small lobes below pinnacles over diadem, surmounted by globe: distinguished from normal Sasanian type by greater richness of jewellery.	Fire-altar with two attendants, type of Hormizd Kushanshah. Pārsik legend. Over altar MLKY-Mārw; small crescent below.	Berlin, cast, cf. Mordtmann l.c. Pl. 6, No. 242.
		Pārsik legend begins at left shoulder, No. 26.		
33b:	A/	Very similar to a Pārsik legend No. 27.	Similar to a, but bust in flames; left of attendants is king, right god. The word <i>rast</i> on shaft of altar, MLKY over flames. Pārsik legend No. 27.	Bartholomæi-Dorn, Pl. VII, 9. Mordtmann, ZDMG, 1880, XXIV, p. 56, No. 198.

No.	Metal, Weight and Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	References.
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Shapur II Shahanshah, 309-356—*contd.*

33c:	AV 109.2 grs.	Same as <i>a</i> , one dot in field to right.	Fire-altar of Ardashir type ; left of flames; small symbol; right, MLKY; small crescent below.	Calcutta, Vincent Smith, <i>Indian Museum Catalogue</i> , Part II, 224, No. 1, Pl. XXIV, 6.
33d:	AV 112.5 grs. 0.8 inch.	Same . . .	Same legend, barbaric ; right of flame in opposite direction, to be read from outside, the word MLKY ; small crescent below.	In possession of author, unpublished. Pl. IV.
33e:	AV 115.7 grs. 0.85 inch.	Very similar to <i>d</i> . . .	Same. MLKY at same place ; small crescent below.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. M. Dieulafoy. <i>L'art Antique</i> , Pl. II, 8.
34 <i>d</i> :	Æ 71.5 grs.	Head of Shapur II to right, same as 33.	Fire-altar of Ardashir type, with "taurus" symbol on shaft ; Sasanian fillets ; flames without bust.	<i>a and b</i> : Wilson, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , Pl. XVII, 13 and 14.
<i>e</i> :	62 grs.	Kushan legend No. 23.	Grenetis. No legend.	<i>c</i> : Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , Pl. IV.
35	Æ	Very similar but less jewellery. Pârsik legend No. 28.	Same altar without symbol, but same style.	<i>d and e</i> : Parruck, <i>Sasanian Coins</i> , Pl. XI, 256 and 257.
				Bartholomæi-Dorn, Pl. VII, 8.

Chionite imitations of Shapur II, 258-279.

36a:	AR 60 grs.	Bust of king with crown of Shapur II; to right, symbol  in front of face; crescent behind head. Kushan legend No. 24.	Indistinct remains of fire-altar with bust of Hormizd in flames and two attendants. Obliterated because re-struck on obverse only.	Wilson, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , Pl. XVI, 10; Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , Pl. VII, 1, from Hidda Tope.
36b:	AR	Same . . .	Same . . .	Wilson, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , Pl. XVI, 9, p. 3.
36c:	AR 54 grs.	Very similar; Parruck's reading of the inscription as Pârsik not supported by figure on Plate.	Same . . .	Parruck, <i>Sasanian Coins</i> , Pl. X, No. 244.

No.	Metal, Weight and Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	References.
Zabul imitations of Varhran IV, 388-399.				
37a:	AR 49 grs.	Bust of king to right, crown of Varhran IV. Kūshān legend No. 26.	Indistinct remains of fire-altar with bust of moon god— (?) in flames; two atten- dants.	Cunningham, <i>Indian Coins</i> , Pl. VII, 2.
37b:	AR 63 grs.	Very similar but traces of different legend running from left to right (certainly not Parruck's interpreta- tion).	Indistinct	Parruck, <i>Sasa- nian Coins</i> , Pl. XIII, No. 303.

Marw coins of Varhran V, 420-438.

38	AR 59.5 grs.	Bust of Varhran V to right. Pārsik legend written from left to right, No. 29. Cf. Parruck, Nos. 323 and 324.	Fire-altar with figure of the king, twice repeated left and right; indistinct letters of the date, and MLKY, left, in the flames.	In possession of author, un- published. Pl. IV.
39	AR 59.5 grs.	Bust of Varhran V to right. Pārsik legend No. 30. Cf. Bartholomæi-Dorn, Pl. XII, 16, and Parruck, Nos. 325 and 326.	Fire-altar with flames, and bust of king on shaft; two attendants. Pārsik legend left, name of Varhran right. MLKY.	In possession of author, un- published. Pl. IV.

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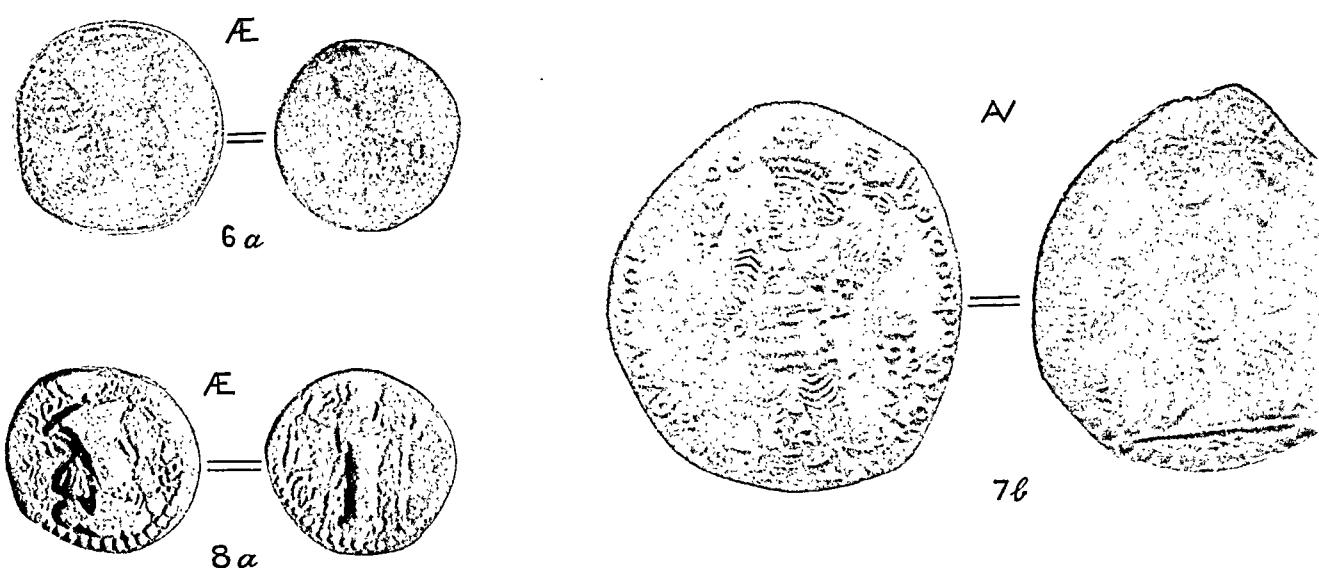
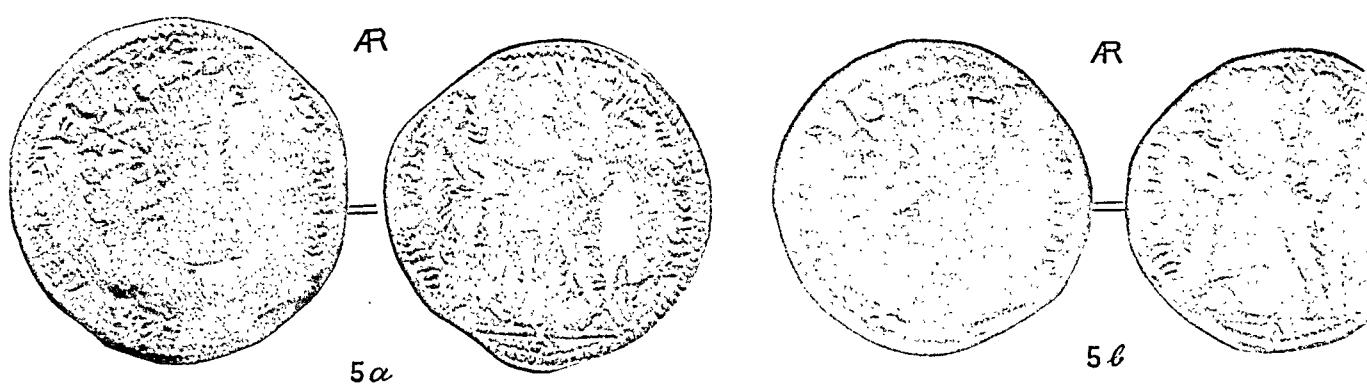
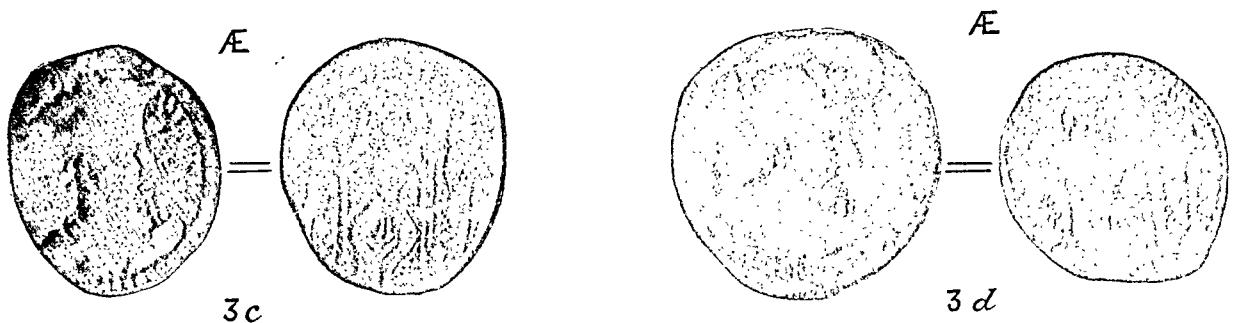
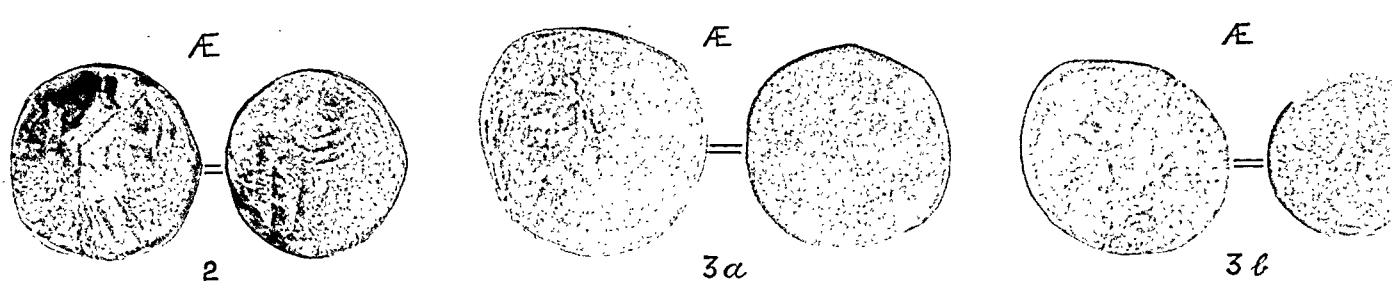
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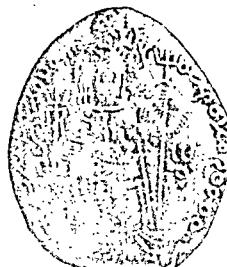
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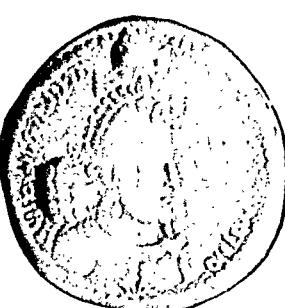
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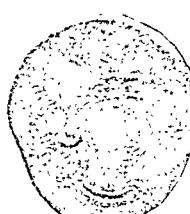
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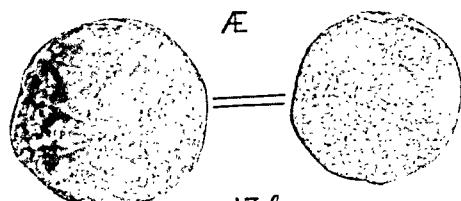
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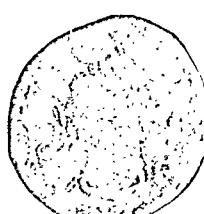
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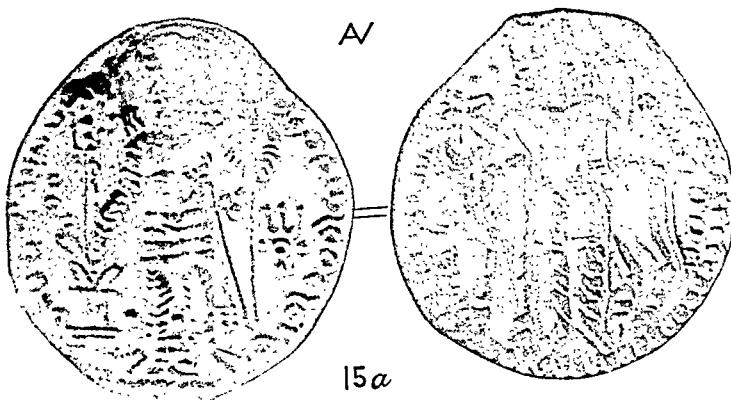
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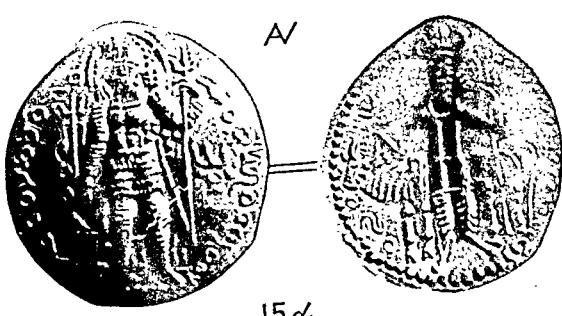
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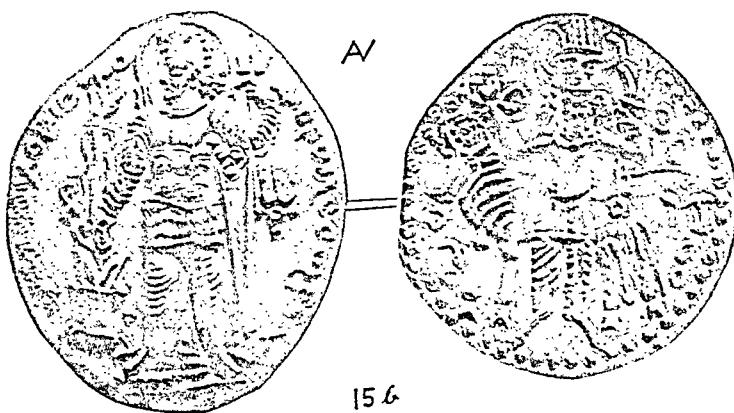
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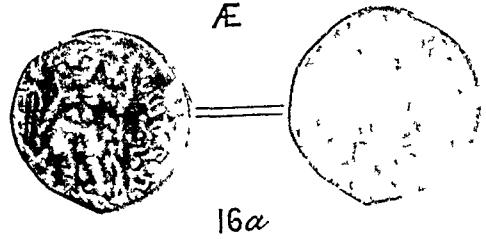
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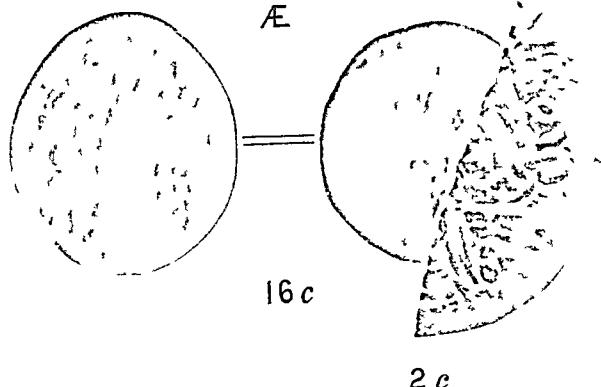


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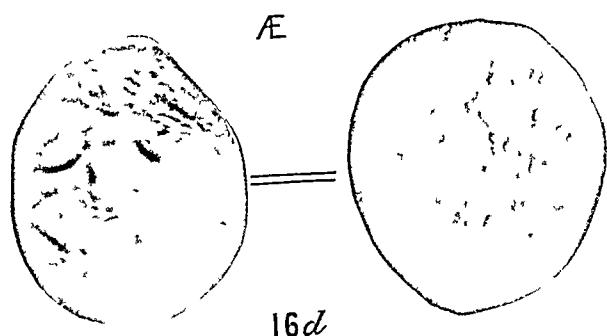


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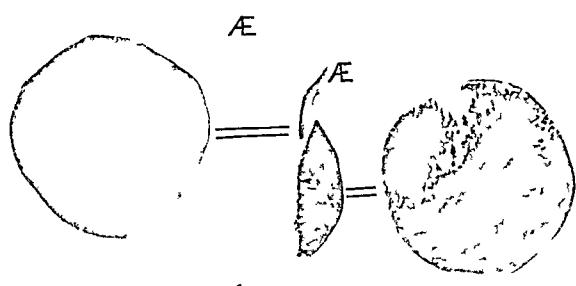


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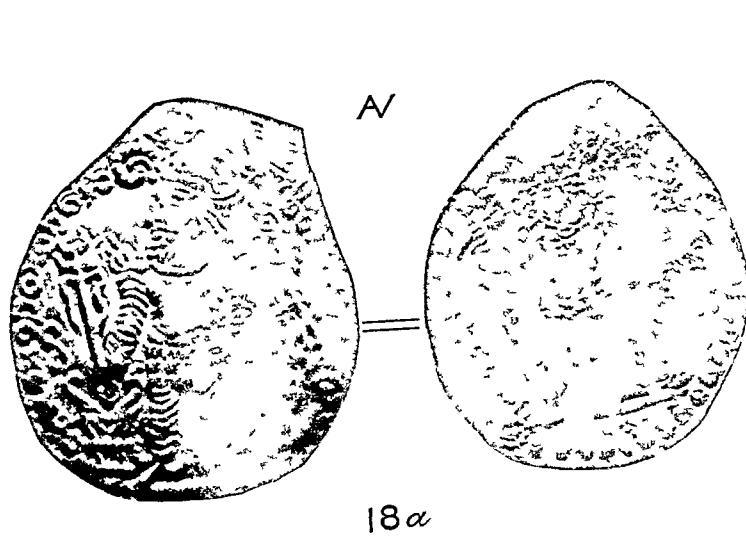
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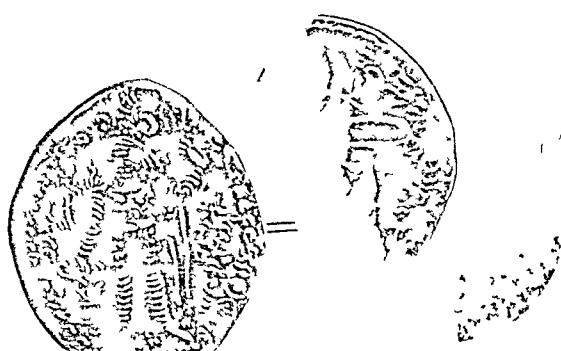
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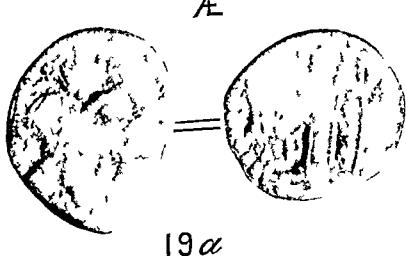
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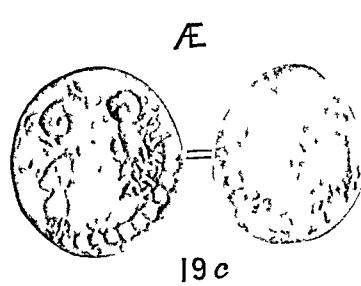
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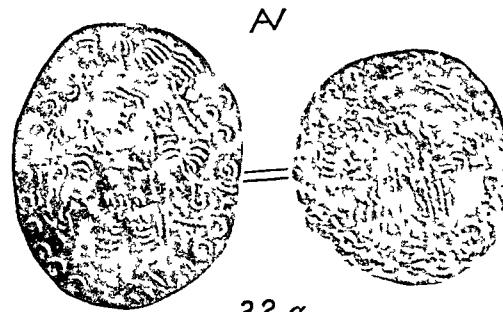
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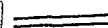
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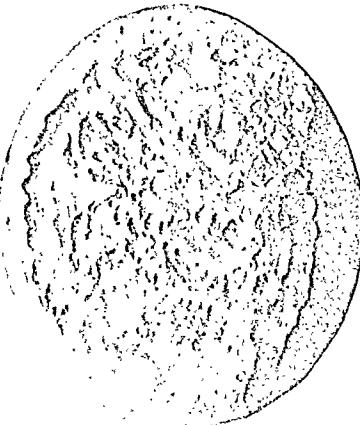
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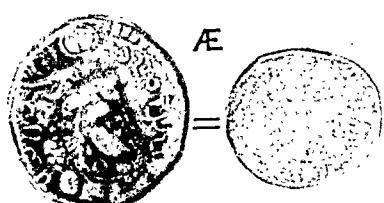
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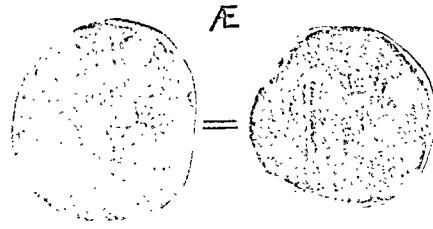


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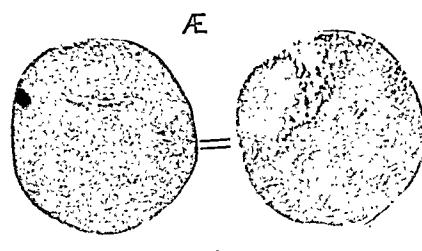
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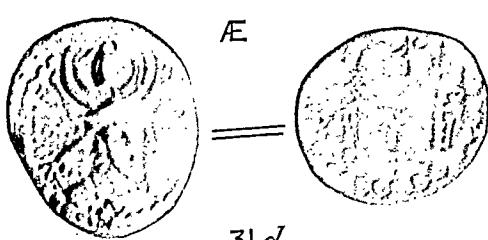
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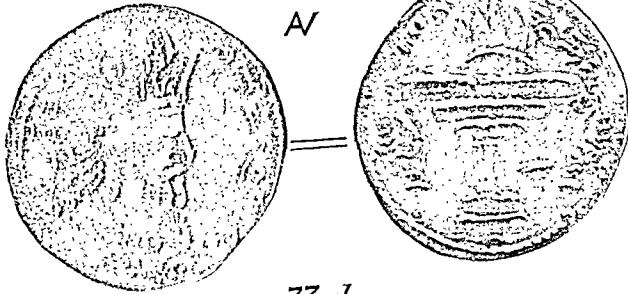
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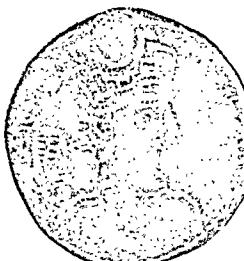


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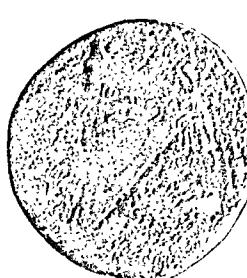
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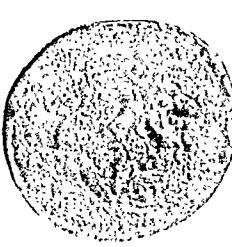
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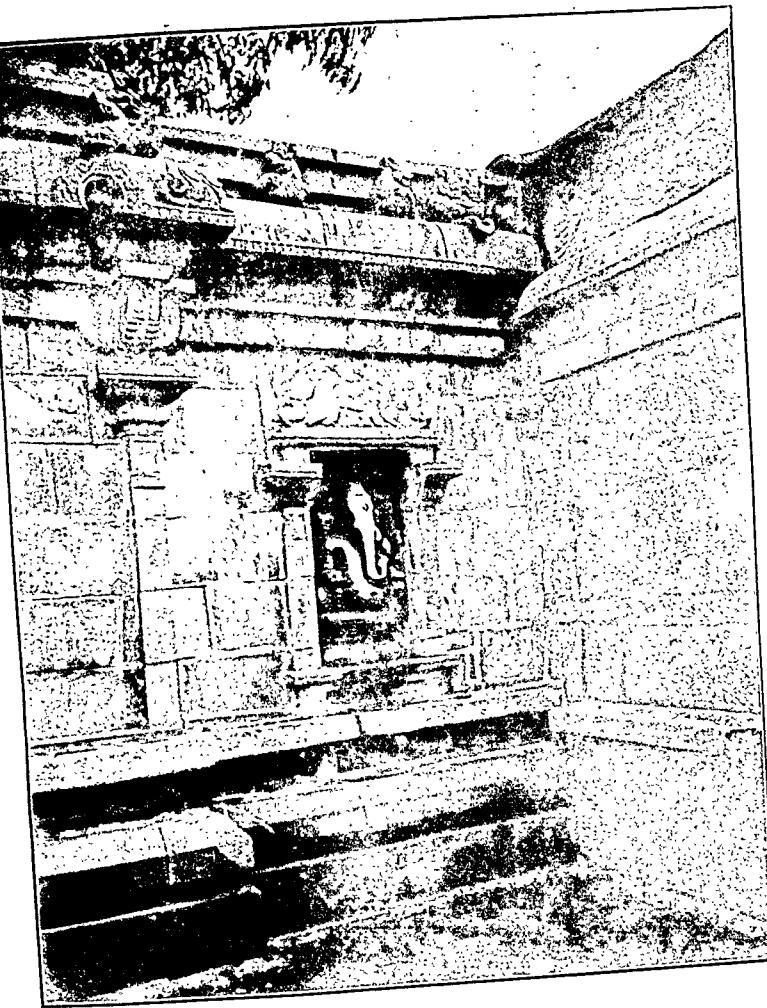


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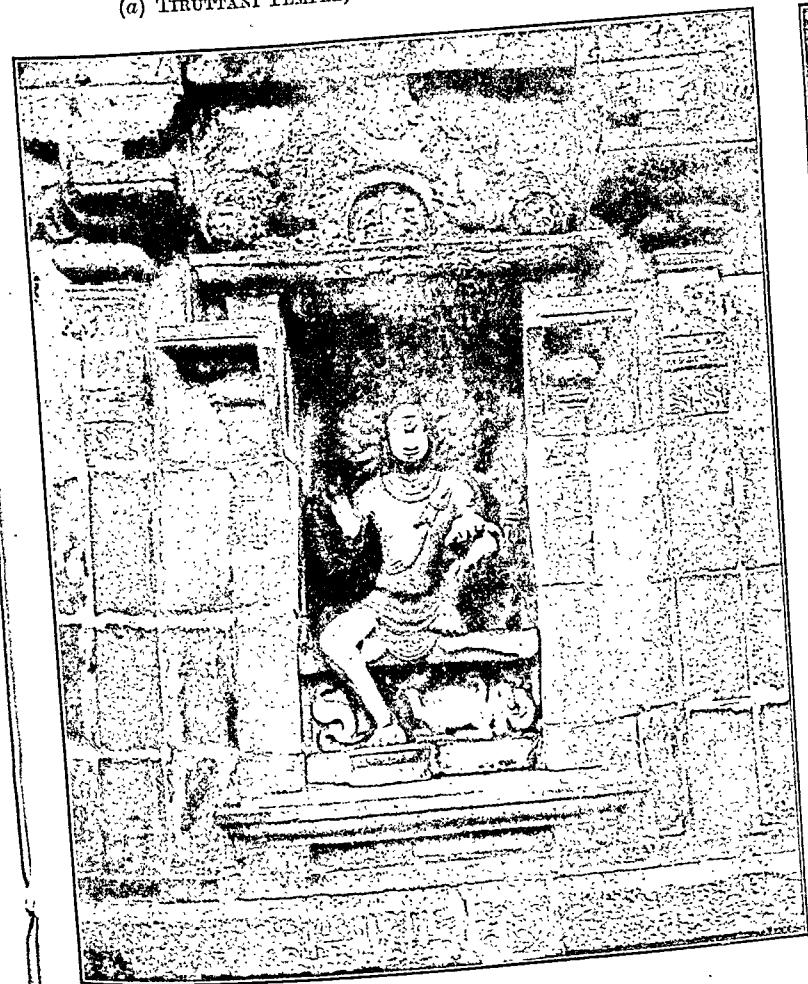
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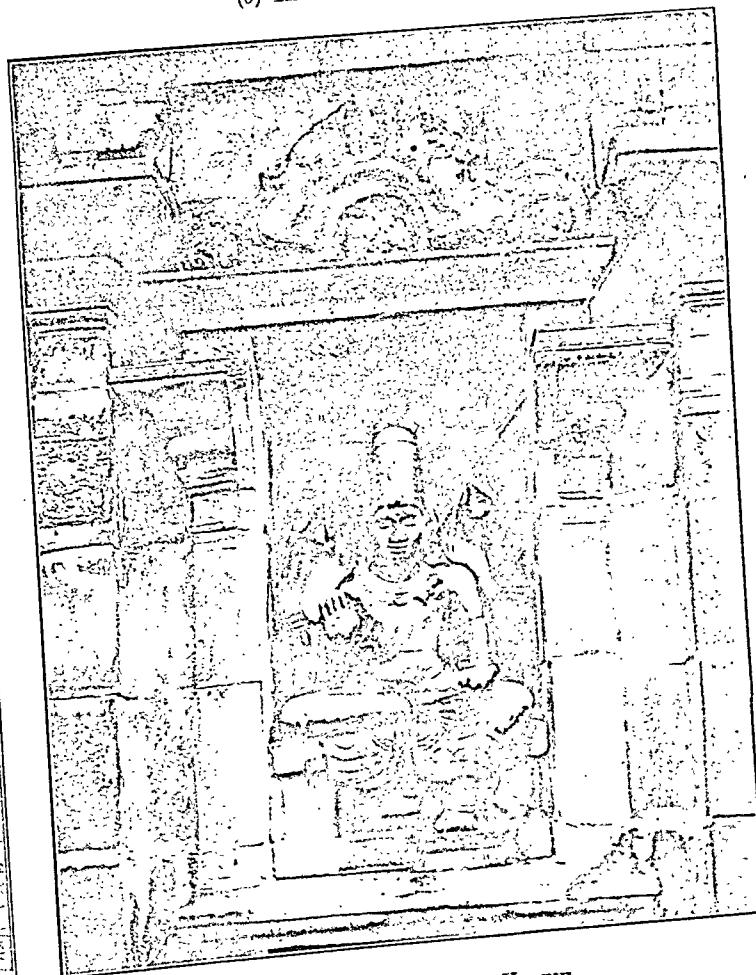
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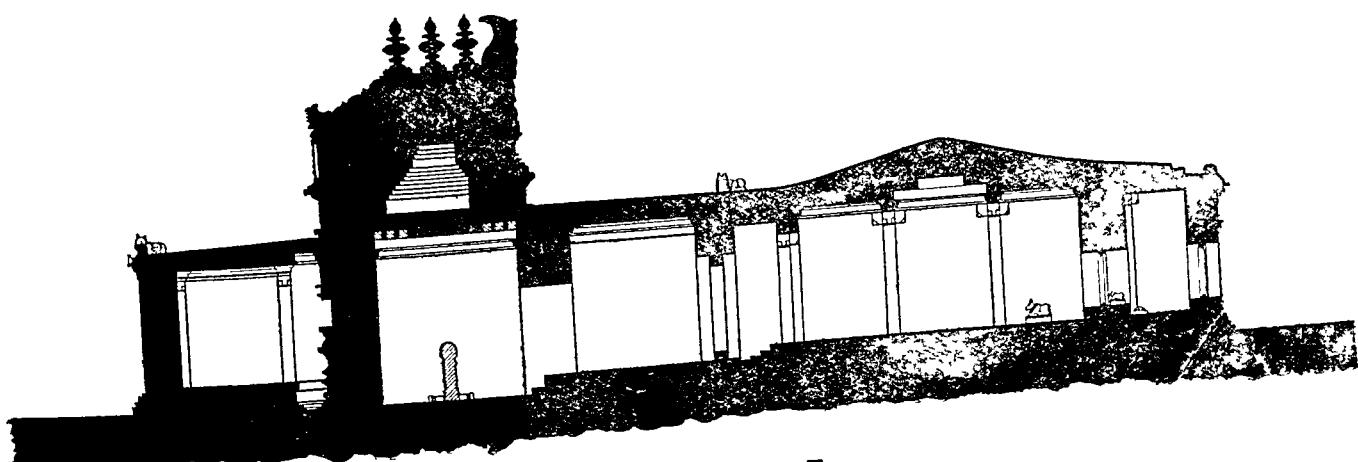
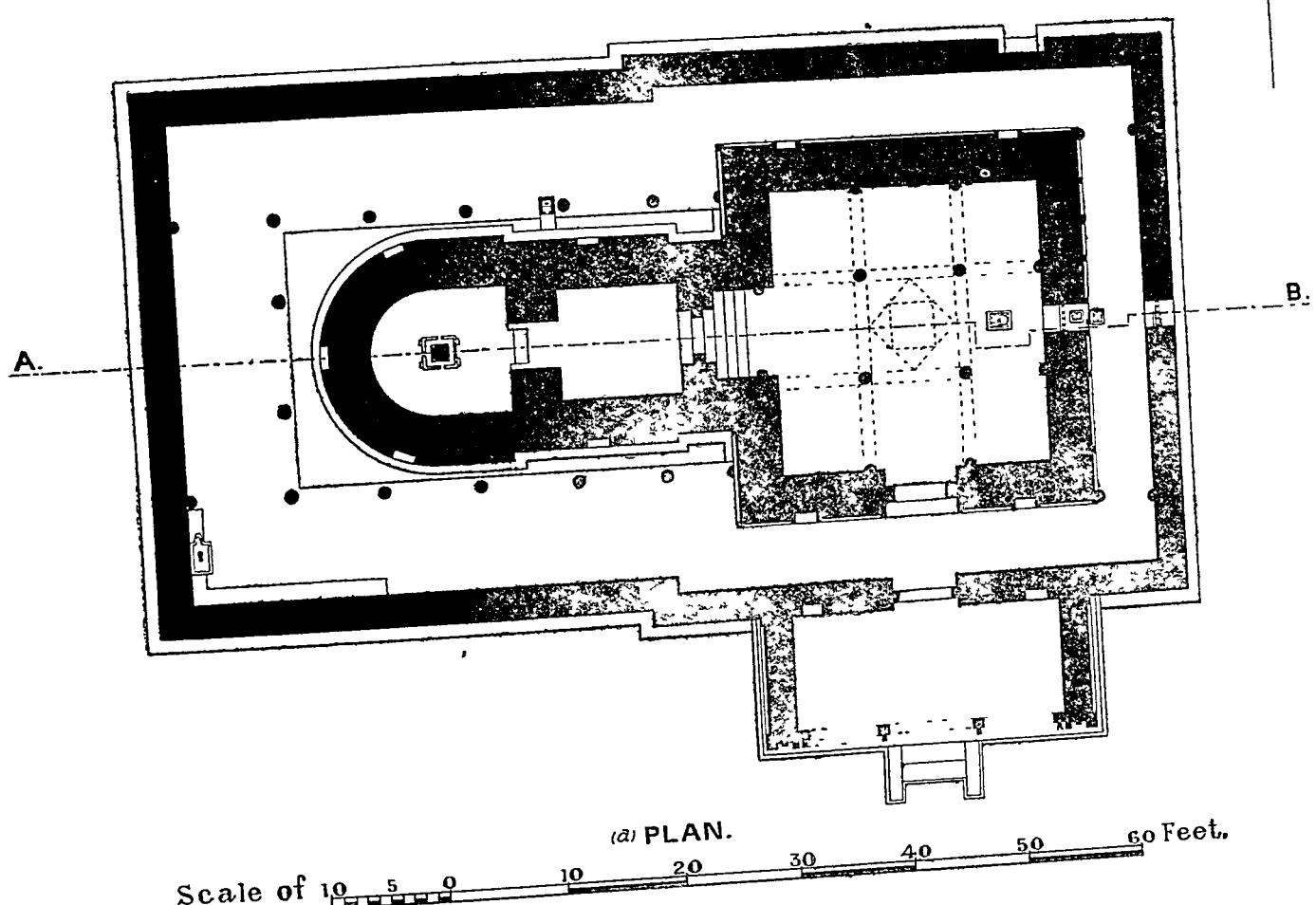
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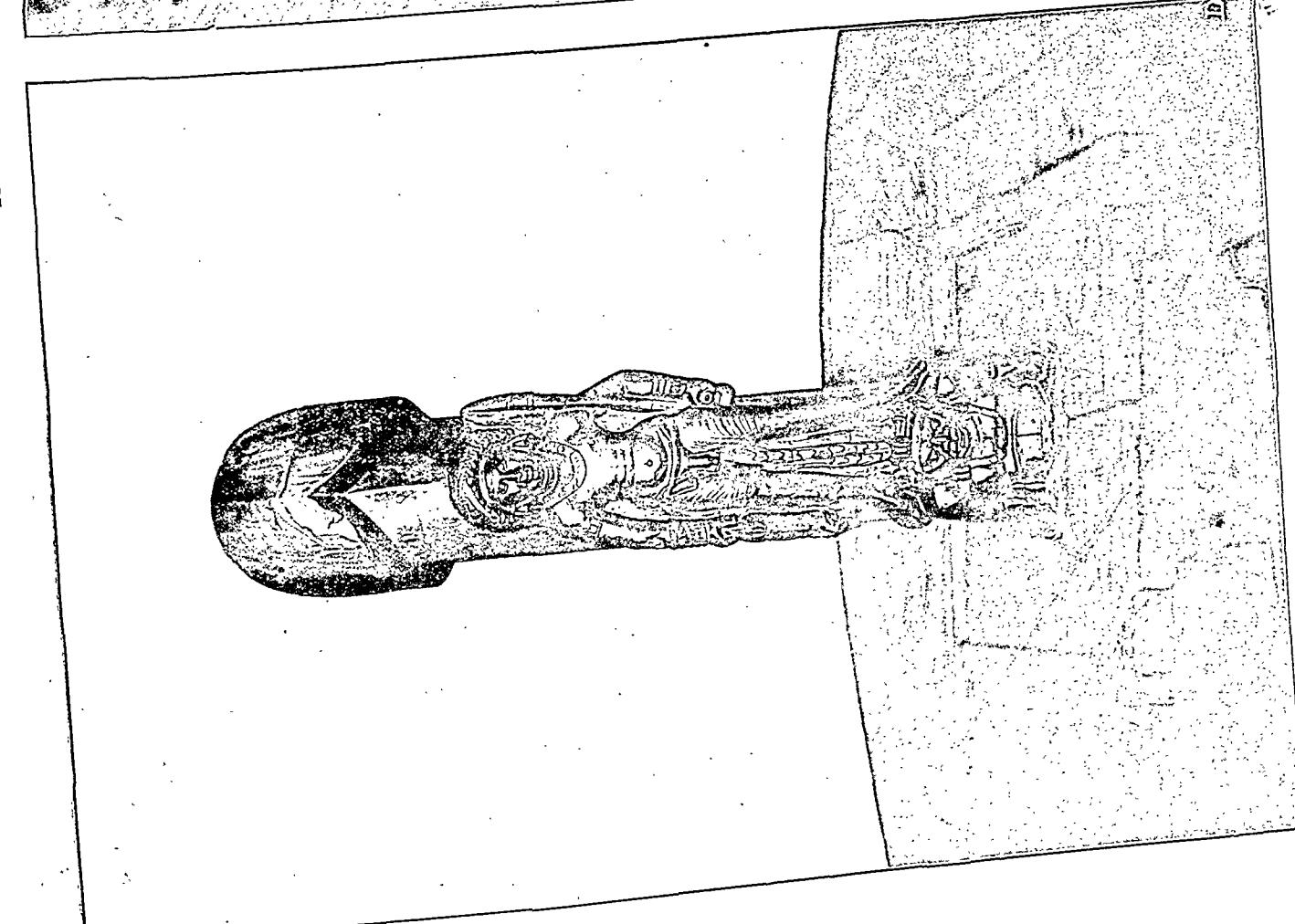
(c) TIRUTTANI TEMPLE, SIVA.



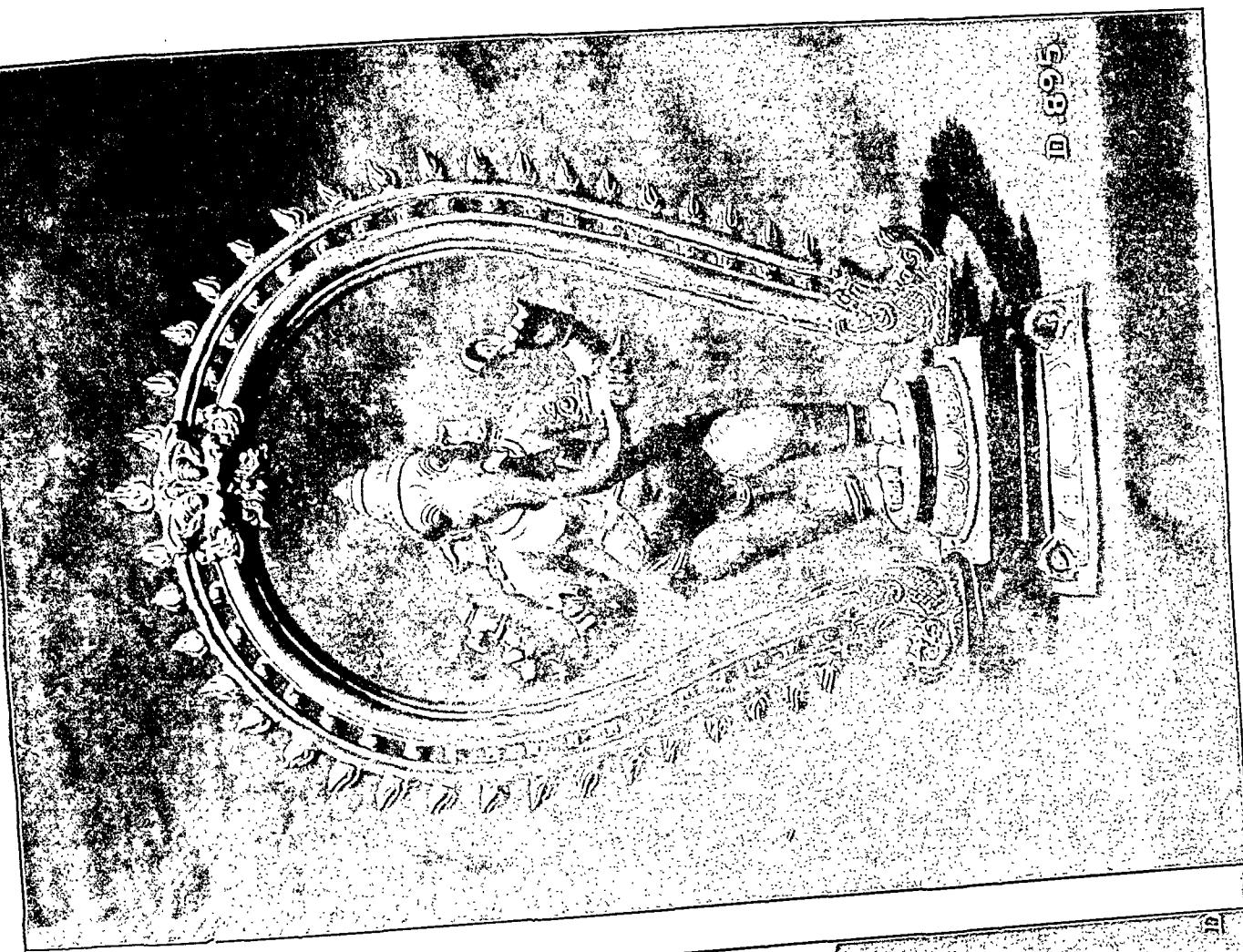
(d) TIRUTTANI TEMPLE, VISHNU.



GUDIMALLAM TEMPLE.



(a) GUDIMALLAM TEMPLE, DETAIL OF LINGA.



(b) GUDIMALLAM TEMPLE, GANESA.

